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✓ U A
STATISTICAL VINDICATION

OF THE

City of London;

OR,

FALLACIES EXPLODED AND FIGURES EXPLAINED.

"THERE IS ANOTHER MODE OF ERROR IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF ARGUMENTS OF ANALOGY, MORE PROPERLY DESERVING THE NAME OF FALLACY; NAMELY, WHEN RESEMBLANCE IN ONE POINT IS INFERRED FROM RESEMBLANCE IN ANOTHER POINT, THOUGH THERE IS NOT ONLY NO EVIDENCE TO CONNECT THE TWO CIRCUMSTANCES BY WAY OF CAUSATION, BUT THE EVIDENCE TENDS POSITIVELY TO DISCONNECT THEM. THIS IS PROPERLY THE FALLACY OF FALSE ANALOGIES."—MUI's "*System of Logic*," vol. ii., p. 386.

BY

BENJAMIN SCOTT, F.R.A.S.

=

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PREFACE TO FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

THE writer of the following pages having recently been called to assist in obtaining a DAY CENSUS of the Population of the City of London, and to prepare some Statistical information connected with and growing out of that Census, his attention was arrested by the absurd fallaciousness of the reasonings founded upon the figures of the Imperial Census, as applied to the *exceptional* case of the City of London. He was thus induced to treat, statistically, the subject of the relative importance of the CITY to the rest of the Metropolis, having regard to the discussions which are inevitable in relation to the future of LONDON.

The views set forth are his own, and not necessarily those of any member, or of any section of the Corporation with which he is officially connected ;—indeed, with the exception of the Tables, some of which were prepared for the Corporation, no page of the work has been seen by any member of that body.

It was not originally intended to treat of CRIME and

POLICE; but the provocation afforded by the introduction of the letter of Sir Richard Mayne, to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Local Government and Taxation—as stated in Chapter V.—and the printing of that letter by the House of Commons—rendered it impossible to avoid reference to those topics.

The writer cannot hope that a work so full of figures—compiled amidst the incessant distraction of official engagements—should be perfectly free from error; but he trusts that it may be found helpful to any who may be called to tread the thorny paths of Metropolitan Statistics; and prove an encouragement to those who—desiring to bring the wisdom of the past to the aid of the necessities of the present—would create in London, Municipal Institutions based upon popular representation, improved by the intelligence of modern times; as affording better security for efficient Local Administration than the centralizing government of despotic States.

LONDON, *January, 1867.*

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

REPEATED inquiry for this work, since the Second Edition was exhausted, has induced the issue of a third, which is in substance a reprint of the earlier editions.

Had the leisure and strength at my disposal permitted, it might have been desirable to have recalculated the whole of the figures on the basis of the last Imperial Census, and to have brought down the consideration of the whole question to the present date. This, however, was incompatible with the performance of engrossing and very responsible official duties. Besides, the Imperial Census of 1871 having provided for no *day* Census of the City (as had been suggested in the earlier editions of this work), to have recalculated the figures on the basis of 1871 would have involved the taking of another day Census at a considerable expense to the Corporation. The only figures, therefore, appertaining to the present year are those of the Rateable Values of the City and the various districts of the Metropolis (Appendices V. and VI.), and a few results, deduced from the figures of Appendix V.; the information contained in Appendix VI. came to hand while the following sheets were in the press—too late for anything but supplemental insertion.

There is, however, a reason, apart from my convenience, why the figures relating to CRIME and POLICE, as they stand in the earlier editions, should not be varied or recast. The assault, by the late Sir Richard Mayne, upon the City Police, as it regarded its cost and efficiency, and his absurd and fallacious comparisons between Crime in the CITY and in the METROPOLIS respectively—dignified as they had been by insertion in a Parliamentary Report—have not been repeated since the appointment of the present judicious and efficient head of the Metropolitan Police. The figures relating to this subject remain, therefore, precisely as in the earlier editions, as a standing refutation of grossly false and calumnious statements, which had, most improperly, found their way into a document printed by authority. Had these ludicrous statements been only approximately correct, the question of the population of the City would have been exceedingly simplified, as that population must have long since disappeared before the knife of the assassin, and the vindication of the outraged majesty of the Law.

But though the figures in the following pages have not been brought down to the immediate present, the argument remains the same, or strengthened rather by the vast increase, since 1866, in the rateable value of the City; which, so far from becoming decayed and depopulated, as certain fallacy-mongers had predicted, is trying and testing to the utmost the powers of its local authorities to keep pace with and provide for the augmentation of its trade, the ever-increasing throng of its frequenters, and the flow of traffic through its streets.

Whether the Census of 1861 or of 1871 be appealed to, the main proposition remains unanswered and unanswerable, viz., that the *nocturnal* Census—taken for public convenience when the City is deserted—forms no sufficient measure of its population or relative importance, and that, consequently, to rest any argument on such a basis is, and must be, fallacious, and that to confer fiscal or other representation upon such data must produce inequitable results.

The figures resulting from the nocturnal Census of 1861, would be found generally repeated by those of the enumeration of 1871, for no alteration of the system took place in reference to the gathering of that Census. Hence the necessity of keeping the facts before the public.

It must ever be borne in mind that the enumeration of trades and occupations deduced from the Census returns in 1861, gave *inter alia* the following results, as shown in the succeeding pages :—

Only 356 *Merchants* out of nearly 6,000, 9 *Bankers* out of 263, and 33 *Brokers* out of 3,297 actually carrying on business within the City—being just one in one hundred—were credited to the City. Thus, while in a City whose Custom dues more than equalled those of the whole Empire, and whose Trading Income Tax exceeded that of the whole of the remainder of the Metropolis, there were found only 356 Merchants, 9 Bankers, and 33 Brokers, there were found in the City, on the night of the Census, 44 *Farmers* (being 1 farmer to every 16 acres), 3 *Farm Bailiffs*, 23 *Gardeners*, 6 *Fishermen*, and 1 *Shepherd*; placing it, as viewed in the mirror of the midnight Census, at the head of the agricultural districts of the Empire, as it regards faci-

lities for the cultivation of its soil. *One* apprentice only figured in the Census of the renowned city of Whittington, whereas over 3,000 were under indenture at that date, of whom 148 were actually employed in the establishments in the City in which the Census tables were printed. (*Vide, Chapter II.*)

The population, according to the mode adopted of taking the Census in the *night*, was found to be 113,387

But, by the DAY CENSUS, the *residents* in the *day time* were found to be 283,520

The number of persons *resorting* to the City daily in 16 hours—being Clerks, Clients, and Customers (not included in the above residents), were found to be 509,611

The *total* number of *residents* and those *resorting* to the City daily, in a day of 16 hours, were 679,744

The *total* number of ditto in a day of 24 hours, were 728,986

These figures were on the increase in 1867, and must have augmented since that date, as is shown by the increasing difficulty experienced in maintaining the uninterrupted flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic within the City.

The reasons above stated have also induced the omission, in the following pages, of allusion to the Bills introduced into Parliament since the publication of the first edition of this work, by the late Mr. Charles Buxton and Lord Elcho respectively, in reference to the Municipal Government of the Metropolis.

B. S.

LONDON, *March, 1877.*

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A STATISTICAL VINDICATION

OF THE

CITY OF LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

“OH what a goodly outside falsehood hath!” So saith Antonio in the “Merchant of Venice,” and he might have applied the aphorism to certain merchants of this our London city, who have vaunted, or applauded while others vaunted, their wealth and respectability, the grasp of their enterprise, the extent of their commerce, and the *bona fides* of their mercantile transactions. We have heard, forsooth, of a city “whose merchants are princes,” whose ships cover every sea, whose trade crowds every shore, whose loans have brought to a successful termination every war in which the nation has engaged, and whose open-handed charity embraces the calamities of either hemisphere.

It appears, however, that this is empty declamation—mere delusive boasting; for although it may have been so in the distant past, it no longer applies to the City of London.

Statistics have shewn up the cheat ; the hollow fallaciousness of the claim is proved by figures, which *may be* relied upon, for they have been said to be less delusive than facts. The City of London is passing away, its streets are deserted, its houses diminishing in number, and not only so, but, of those which remain, the number uninhabited is ever on the increase ; its population also is diminishing in a ratio which will leave it a desert early in the succeeding century—if not sooner. And what shall we say of the *character* of its population—its merchants, bankers and traders ? Unless (which we cannot believe) figures greatly mislead, they have fallen from their high moral estate to the level of the most criminal of our population. No longer the souls of commercial honour, the synonyms of well-to-do respectability and lavish charity, we find them at the bar of our police courts and of the Old Bailey, and that, again and again, until the whole of them, their clerks and servants, must have been, on the average, convicted upon indictment or summarily, at least three times in the course of their natural lives !

But seriously ; has it come to this ? It has, indeed. Everybody says it ; and is it not in print ? It must therefore be true. The Registrar-General says it, or is understood to have said it. A Royal Commission said it in 1837. Another Royal Commission repeats it in 1854. A Select Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by the Honourable Member for the Tower Hamlets, takes up the tale, and should not a Select Committee know ? Sir Richard Mayne tells Sir George Grey so, in a return made by the former to the latter, and surely Sir Richard ought to know ! Moreover, Mr. Edwin Chadwick tells the Select Committee aforesaid that Sir Richard Mayne's statistics are "reliable," and the

Select Committee, upon the testimony of Mr. Edwin Chadwick, introduce a document into their report to the House of Commons confirmatory of his accuracy.*

* The following assertions, on authority, in relation to the population, number of houses, state of crime, etc., are adduced as a sample of much more of the same sort which could be quoted :—

“City of London : population, 122,395 ; houses, 17,315. The Municipal City of London contains *rather a less population and a smaller number of houses* than is shewn by the above account. We believe that, after making all necessary deductions, it may be assumed that the limits of the City of London embrace *less than a ninth* of the population of what may be considered, in a general sense, the Town of London.”—*Second Report of Commissioners on Municipal Corporations*, 1837, p. ii.

“It appears that the area of the City Proper is 723 acres ; that it contained 14,693 inhabited houses in 1851 ; that its population was 128,833 in 1801, and 129,128 in 1851. The relation, therefore, of the City of London Proper to the entire Metropolis, *measured by these facts*, stands thus :—

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Metropolis, population in 1801, | 958,863 ; | City, 128,833 ; |
| „ „ | 1851, 2,362,236 ; | City, 129,128. |

It will be observed that, whereas the population of the entire Metropolis has more than doubled in the last fifty years, the population of the City of London has remained nearly stationary. The City which lies at the centre [of the Metropolis] forms, in successive years, a *constantly smaller and smaller portion of the entire Metropolis, as measured by its population*. Thus, in 1801, the population of the City was about a *seventh* part of the population of the Metropolis ; whereas, in 1851, it was only an *eighteenth* part.”—*Report of Commissioners of Inquiry into the Corporation of London*, 1854, pp. xii, xiii.

“The City of London, consisting of 99 parishes, containing 702 acres, 13,260 houses, assessed at £1,279,887, and a population of 111,764 persons.”—*Third Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Metropolitan Local Taxation*, 1861, p. vi.

“City of London : population, computed 1866, 104,908.”—*Appendix, No. 8, of First Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Metropolitan Local Government and Taxation*, 1866.

“The area of the City is little more than one square mile : the

Moreover, we read in certain popular and well-informed periodicals that it is as stated,* while sundry reputable journals have taken up the same parable, and have edified their readers with the truths which we are enunciating.

There are, certainly, a few facts and figures (fallacious, doubtless) which at first sight would appear to tell upon the

population, 111,784 persons; and the number of houses, inhabited and uninhabited, 1,479" (? misprint for 14,794).—*Sir Richard Mayne, in Report to Sir Geo. Grey, dated June 1, 1863, Appendix, No. 7, to Second Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Metropolitan Local Government and Taxation, 1866.*

"There is a constant decrease of population and houses in the City."—*Sir Richard Mayne, as above.*

"Crimes in the City are upwards of 156 per cent. higher than in the Metropolitan District."—*Sir Richard Mayne, as above.*

"The precise number of criminals committed for trial in the year [1861] was, in the City, 321; Metropolitan District, 2,997. Comparing the ratio of those figures to the respective populations of each district, it is found that such crimes [*i.e.*, of a graver class] are, in the City, *three*; in the Metropolitan District, *one*."—*Sir Richard Mayne, as above.*

"It is thus shewn that the crimes of a serious character, both those against persons and houses, as well as crimes of every description, are, *relatively to population and houses*, much higher in the City than in the Metropolitan District."—*Sir Richard Mayne, as above.*

"There was a very decided statement made by Sir Richard Mayne which exhibited statistics upon the subject [City Police], and I *know* that, if Sir Richard Mayne gives statistics, I can rely upon them." "Now I *know* that crime is greater and detection less frequent there [the City] than in other parts of the Metropolis." "It [crime] is greater in proportion to the population and property. I can give you a statistical return proving that result."—*Evidence of Mr. Edwin Chadwick before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Metropolitan Government and Taxation. Second Report. 1866. Answers: 6,596, 6,541, and 6,542.*

* "The inhabitants of the City Proper are *year by year decreasing*. In 1851, for instance, there were 129,128 inhabitants residing within its boundaries; but this number had declined in 1861 to 113,387; and probably in 1871 the population of the most renowned commercial City in the world will not exceed 100,000, or less than the number of people living in Kensington."—*Once a Week, September, 1866.*

other side, and which it is fair to state in reference to this matter. It is said, for instance, that the once famous and now deserted and degraded City of which we are speaking has within its limits a larger number of Churches, Chapels, and Ministers of Religion than any similar area ; that it has more children under education, in proportion to the population, than are found elsewhere ; that it conducts a larger commerce than any other known emporium in the world ; and that this can be proved by figures (fallacious, doubtless), for that there are paid within its walls more Customs' duties than are levied, in the aggregate, elsewhere in the empire ; that its Trading profits, under Schedule D, as well as the amount of the Shipping frequenting its Port, place it in the very highest Commercial position ; that its merchants and others (deceivers or self-deceived) rent offices at unheard of and exorbitant rates, so that, actually, ground-rents have, in the course of a few years, risen in many instances above the level of their previous rack-rents, and that no less a sum than £699,080 has been added to the rateable annual value of the City within the past year.* It is stated, moreover, that the Police force of the City has been augmented until it numbers, now, 649 men to the square mile.

Here are, certainly, a few apparent contradictions, and the whole statement seems paradoxical. Who shall discover a way through this labyrinth, and find a clue out of this bewilderment ?

If facts and figures, well vouched in the bluest of blue-books, are worth a farthing, we must accept it as a fact that London City has, in American phraseology, "gone up." We are looking for the Fenians, but we miscalculate the probable

* Increased since 1866 by a further sum of £941,446 per annum

event ; it is the predicted New Zealander who is due, and if we are to pin our faith upon reports "issued by authority," we may expect his first appearance shortly on the stage of the remaining abutment of London Bridge.

Let us, however, availing ourselves of the brief interval which precedes his arrival, look into this question ; and it may be well to set in juxtaposition the apparently contradictory elements of this problem.

It is asserted on the authority of conflicting statistics—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. That, in the City, trade and commerce are flourishing beyond all former precedent. | BUT 1. That the population is "year by year decreasing." |
| 2. That street traffic is constantly on the increase. | 2. That the houses rapidly diminish in number. |
| 3. That rents are rising beyond all former experience. | 3. That "uninhabited" houses greatly increase. |
| 4. That the rateable value of the City is greatly augmenting. | 4. That, consequently, trade must be declining and the City decaying. |
| 5. That churches, chapels and schools abound ; and that there are more police to a given area than elsewhere in the Kingdom. | 5. That crime is more rife than elsewhere—indeed, to such an extent, that the whole population is criminally tainted. |

The obvious conclusion from which is—that trade and commerce, prosperity and wealth, accompanied by the advantages of religious instruction and educational culture, with the protection of a numerous and costly Police force, tend directly to the promotion of depopulation, decay (material and moral), deterioration and crime. We may advance a step

further in our induction, and we arrive at the conclusion that by closing churches and chapels, dismissing the clergy and ministers of religion, shutting up the schools, driving away capital, trade and commerce, and disbanding our police, we shall promote the social, moral and material interests of our urban populations, increasing both their number and their well-being.

There is, of course, a trifling amount of predilection, and it may be of prejudice, to overcome before accepting such conclusions; but let us not be unreasonable. Having been mistaken already upon many points of science, history, and philosophy, we may be wrong here. We confess certainly to a leaning, to some extent, in the direction of the ancient conventional belief that London's streets—the City's, at all events—are auriferous, that her commerce is ubiquitous and remunerative, and that her merchants, as a rule, are wealthy and respectable; and awaiting conviction which shall compel us to adopt the contrary view, we will abide by the old faith, for

“ Until we know this sure uncertainty,
We'll entertain the *favoured fallacy* ;”

holding it against all comers—Government Commissioners, Home Secretaries, Registrars-General, Select Committees, selected witnesses, and Commissioners of Police—to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is doubtless political heresy to call in question aught that is printed between blue covers; but what are we to do when blue-books contradict one another, and the statistical trumpets give an uncertain sound?

We are inclined to suspect that this subject has been treated

superficially, perhaps intentionally so ; at all events there would appear to be no remedy but to plunge into an ocean of statistics to bring up, perchance, facts of value which are now out of sight ; for

“ Errors like straws upon the surface flow,
He who would search for pearls must dive below.”

We have no quarrel with Statistics properly understood and correctly applied. On the contrary, we desire to do homage to a branch of science which is conferring many obligations in various walks of social life ; and we believe that we cannot more effectually serve the cause of statistical science than by pointing out the cruel treatment it has sustained at the hands of the empirical.

The science, rightly used, demands that an intelligent appreciation of *all the surrounding conditions* shall be brought to bear upon the figures which are employed. An illustration or two will explain and enforce this view.

Some years since, a lecturer on “Vital Statistics” put forth the startling announcement that two parishes in London, immediately contiguous—St. George’s, Hanover Square, and St. Giles’s—occupied, for some occult hygienic reason, the most opposite positions as it regarded the disease of consumption. St. George’s was most unfavourable to its production, while St. Giles’s was exceedingly prolific of the destroyer. All this was made plain to demonstration by reference to the registers of burial of the two parishes. The author of this notable discovery should have pushed his inquiries further ; he would have discovered that Torquay, Hastings, and the Isle of Wight were the most consumptive districts in England. As a superficial matter-of-fact Statistician, he had never

reasoned upon, or rather from, the figures, but had blindly accepted their teaching. Had he visited the two parishes in question, he would have learned that St. George's being aristocratically populated, sent all its patients to die in a purer air and a warmer climate; whilst St. Giles's being peopled by a class at the opposite end of the social scale, left its consumptive victims to find their record in the local tables of the Registrar-General.

Another instance may be instructive. A near relative of the writer, residing in an insalubrious district, lost one of his children, and otherwise so suffered from fever in his family that he parted with his property at a sacrifice, and sought a more healthy locality. Judge of his astonishment to find that the parish he had left occupied the highest place in the sanitary tables of the District, as it regarded health and longevity! Being scientifically disposed, he set himself to unravel this mystery; when he discovered that an almshouse appropriated to persons of extremely advanced age, had so influenced the record of the average duration of life, as to set up this local "wolf in sheep's clothing," amongst the most innocent and salubrious localities of the Empire.

Similar use, or shall we say *abuse*, of Statistics has been extensively resorted to as it regards the City of London. Attention was first directed to the subject by an assertion made in a provincial town, that the City of London was, unquestionably, the most drunken place in the Kingdom. Having frequented the City for a life-time, and knowing it to be a place for business, and not for drinking, we ventured to question the truth of the assertion, but were speedily drenched by a cold shower of Statistics; and although not convinced, we were obliged to capitulate. Upon

reflection, we saw that the fallacy lay in attributing the consumption of drink by over 700,000 people, frequenters of the City, to 100,000 registered residents, thus making the latter seven-fold drunkards. Pursuing the inquiry, we found that the City, tried by the same fallacious test, was the richest, and the most pauperized—the most religious and moral, whilst the most criminal—the best watched, whilst the least cared for; indeed, that the City of London occupied the unenviable position of being at the *head of everything*, whether good, bad, or indifferent! So long as this amusing abuse of Statistics was confined to the platforms of Literary Institutes and Provincial temperance meetings, little harm was done; but when public men and official authorities took up the same parable and ventilated it at the public expense, it was high time that some one exploded the fallacy, and unclothed the imposture.

This then be our task;—to bring, if possible, this question of the relative importance, population, commerce, trade, traffic, condition and character of the City of London, out of the mist of uncertainty and detraction in which it would appear to have been enveloped.

We propose to consider the subject, *statistically*, under the following divisions:—

Chap. II. The relative importance of the City to the rest of the Metropolis—tested by its *population*.

Chap. III. Its relative importance, determined by the number and value of its *houses*, inhabited and uninhabited.

Chap. IV. Its relative importance *Rateably*, and as respects its *Trade and Commerce*.

Chap. V. *Crime* in the City and Metropolis; the cost and efficiency of the City and Metropolitan Police forces.

Chap. VI. The *Fiscal representation* of the City and the other districts at the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Chap. VII. The various suggestions in reference to *Metropolitan Municipalities*, and the future of the Metropolis.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE CITY TO THE REST OF THE METROPOLIS—TESTED BY ITS POPULATION.

THE relative importance of the City must be determined by ascertaining, as nearly as is practicable, its population, the number and value of its houses, its rateable value, and the amount and importance of its trade and commerce. We shall treat of these subjects separately under their respective heads. The moral character of the population does not concern us here ; for rogues and their haunts are not distinguished from honest men and their homes in taking a census ; nor are they relatively weighed in the balances of respectability in conferring representation. Even assuming that the City population is as criminal as is represented, we must nevertheless take stock of it in estimating mere numbers and values, leaving the subject of crime for future consideration.

What is the City population? Is it decreasing? and what is it relatively to the whole Metropolis?

According to the Registrar-General's census of 1861, the population of all London within *his* registration district, and including the City of London, amounted to 2,803,989 souls.



A TABLE OF DISTRICTS AND PARISHES OF THEIR
INHABITED HOUSES; THEIR

| DISTRICTS AND PARISHES. | Sleeping Popula- tion. 1861. | District Value Per House. |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| CITY AND COUNTY OF LONDON | 113,387 | £ s. d. |
| TWENTY-THREE PARISHES HAV- ING DISTINCT LOCAL ADMIN- ISTRATION. | | 58 1 8 |
| St. Marylebone..... | 161,680 | |
| St. Pancras | 198,788 | |
| St. George's, Hanover Square ... | 87,771 | |
| Islington | 155,341 | 31 18 4 |
| Shoreditch | 129,364 | |
| Lambeth | 162,044 | |
| Paddington | 75,784 | |
| St. John, Hampstead | 19,106 | |
| St. James, Westminster | 35,326 | |
| St. Martin's-in the-Fields | 22,689 | |
| Clerkenwell | 65,681 | 27 13 5 |
| St. Luke's | 57,073 | |
| Bethnal Green | 105,101 | |
| St. George's-in-the-East..... | 48,891 | |
| Mile End Old Town | 73,064 | 31 10 6 |
| Chelsea | 63,439 | |
| Kensington | 70,108 | |
| Camberwell | 71,488 | |
| St. George's, Southwark..... | 55,510 | |
| Bermondsey | 58,355 | 30 19 1 |
| Newington..... | 82,220 | |
| Woolwich | 41,695 | |
| Rotherhithe | 24,502 | |
| FIFTEEN DISTRICTS, EACH EM- BRACING DIVERS PARISHES. | | 32 6 2 |
| Fulham District— | | |
| Hammersmith | 24,519 | |
| Fulham | 15,539 | |
| Westminster District— | | 50 2 3 |
| St. Margaret | 30,407 | |
| St. John the Evangelist | 37,483 | |
| Strand District— | | 36 13 7 |
| St. Anne, Soho..... | 17,426 | |
| St. Paul, Covent Garden | 5,154 | |
| St. John the Baptist, Savoy ... | 380 | |
| St. Mary-le-Strand | 2,072 | 51 0 5 |
| St. Clement Danes | 15,592 | |
| Liberty of the Rolls..... | 2,274 | |
| Holborn District— | | |
| St. Andrew, Holborn | 22,384 | 31 1 3 |
| St. George the Martyr | 9,867 | |
| St. Sepulchre | 4,609 | |
| Saffron Hill, Hatton Garden, } Ely Rents and Ely Place..... | 7,148 | |
| Glasshouse Yard | 1,455 | 20 15 10 |

* Corrected number.

By the same authority the City of London and Liberties, consisting of ninety parishes in the centre of the Metropolis, and governed by a Municipal Corporation, had a population of 113,387.*

It will be very convenient to set out here a table of the divisions of the Metropolis, the amount of their populations, and the number of houses, as given by the census of 1861; also the rateable values of the several districts, according to a return recently issued by the Metropolitan Board of Works. We have added columns to show the fiscal quality of the respective districts—giving the district value per head and the district value per house in each district. [See Table annexed.]

Having set out the figures which must, for the present at least, serve for *data*, we perceive that the Metropolitan area of representation at the Board of Works comprises the City of London and thirty-eight other districts.

The census returns give the population of the whole Metropolis at 2,803,989. Of this population, St. Pancras constitutes 7 per cent.; Lambeth, Marylebone and Islington absorb, each of them, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; while the City of London, according to the census, figures only for 4 per cent.—*being a half per cent. lower than Shoreditch.*

Some centuries since, London was the first city of Britain and of the world. Behold it now, in the atlas of the Registrar-General, taking rank below Shoreditch as a twenty-

* Including certain Liberties and Inns of Court watched by the City police, the district being identical with the three Poor-Law Unions of the City and of East and West London. Since the publication of the Second Edition of this Work, the three Unions have been united in one Union for the whole City.

fifth portion of the Metropolis! "To what base uses may we not return!" To what depth of urban degradation may we not descend—when the London of to-day is but a *twenty-fifth portion* of the London of yesterday!

But this is not all, nor is it the worst. A writer in the popular periodical, already referred to, following too blindly and implicitly the Registrar-General's figures, informs us that things are getting worse and worse; that London City is becoming "fine by degrees and beautifully less." He tells us that "the inhabitants of the City proper are *year by year decreasing*. In 1851, for instance, there were 129,128 inhabitants residing within its boundaries; but this number had declined, in 1861, to 113,387, and, probably in 1871, the population of the most renowned commercial City in the world will not exceed 100,000, or less than the number of people living in Kensington." He adds, somewhat inconsistently, "the army of people, principally males, that moves on the City every morning is, perhaps, unparalleled in number by any human tide that has ever moved diurnally on any city in any age of the world."

The writer of this paragraph justifies his lamentation over the decrease of the inhabitants of the City proper by the official statistics of the census; but in his forecast of the census of 1871, and his calculation that the inhabitants of our City may, five years hence, number less than Kensington, he has omitted to notice the accomplishment of his prophecy some five years before its publication; for in 1861 London City figures for but 61 per cent. of the inhabitants of Kensington—113,387 against 185,950!

We can realize this picture of a decaying city; its decadence the consequence of an ever decreasing population—a

decrease in the short space of 20 years (1851—1871) of more than 20 per cent. ! Nor is it very difficult to work out the rule-of-three solution that, at the same ratio of decrease—namely, one per cent. per annum—we shall see the City stranded, in or about A.D. 1971, on the treacherous Goodwin of a population of *one* ! What a dream of desolation for London City !

There is, however, something to be said in explanation of this alleged decadence of the City of London ; and we shall shew that *terms* have, by the unreflecting, been confounded with *facts*. The fallacies here are chiefly three :—

(1.) The term *Kensington* does not mean *Kensington*—but something else.

(2.) There is no “decrease” of population “year by year,” nor is it at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum—but something else.

(3.) The term “*inhabitants*” of the City does not mean “*inhabitants*”—but something else.

Fallacy 1. Kensington is not here intended, as might by the uninitiated be supposed, to mean the pleasant semi-rural parish of that name, but a district which has been favoured, for what reason it concerns us not to inquire, by having its importance and dignity exaggerated by the addition of the three large and populous parishes of Paddington, Hammersmith and Fulham, with their several populations amounting to no less than 115,842 persons.

By this means Kensington having been magnified according to the formula—

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{Kensington, + Brompton (70,108) + Padding-} \\ &\quad \text{ton (75,784) + Hammersmith (24,519) +} \\ &\quad \text{Fulham (15,539) = Kensington = 185,950 !} \end{aligned}$$

—the inhabitants of Kensington are thus found to be, relatively

to those of the City of London, as 185,950 are to 113,387, shewing the relative superiority of Kensington!—Q.E.D.

The fact, divested of statistical fallaciousness, is, that the population reported as *sleeping* in the City (which is not a mere dormitory) was found on the night of the census to be less than the population sleeping in the four large suburban parishes of Paddington, Kensington, Fulham and Hammer-smith, united.

Fallacy 2. The “*decrease*” of the sleeping population of the City is not “*year by year*,” even according to the census tables; nor is it proceeding at the rate alleged—one per cent. per annum. The population returns for the City of London, as officially taken at the various decennial periods of the present century, are as follows:—

| | Sleeping Population. | Increase. | Decrease. | Ratio of Increase per cent. | Ratio of Decrease per cent. |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Census of 1811 gives | 121,909 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1821 „ | 125,434 | 3,525 | ..... | 2'89 | ..... |
| 1831 „ | 123,683 | ..... | 1,751 | ..... | 1'39 |
| 1841 „ | 129,251 | 5,568 | ..... | 4'5 | ..... |
| 1851 „ | 129,171 | ..... | 80 | ..... | '006 |
| 1861 „ | 113,387 | ..... | 15,784 | ..... | 12'22 |

These figures shew that there has been no law of “year by year decrease” prevailing, as has been assumed. The decrease between 1821 and 1831 was at the rate of 1'39 per cent., but that ratio had been more than counteracted by a previous *increase* between 1811 and 1821 of 2'89 per cent. Again,

between 1841 and 1861 there was a total decrease of 12·22 per cent., but this had been moderated by an *increase* between 1831 and 1841 of 4·5 per cent. The total net decrease in the number of the sleeping population between 1811 and 1861 is 8,522 persons in the half century—being at the rate of 6·99 (say 7) per cent. in 50 years. Correcting the asserted diminution of 1 per cent. per annum, which would have reduced the population by exactly *half* in 50 years=60,954 persons, we find that the decrease is not quite 0·14 per cent. per annum, or 7 per cent. in 50 years=8,522 persons—a ratio of decrease which will postpone for many centuries the anticipated depopulation of the City of London, as it regards its *sleeping* population.

It is possible that the widening of streets and consequent displacement of buildings may further diminish the sleeping population; and it is also quite possible that the enormous rise in the value of house property within the City may lead to the appropriation of the upper parts of warehouses, etc., as residences for clerks, porters, and others—in which case the sleeping population will certainly *increase*. But it is quite immaterial to the question of the relative importance of the City whether there is an increase or a decrease in this figure.

Having shewn the fallaciousness of the allegations that the City is less populous than Kensington, and that its population is “year by year decreasing,” we proceed to explode—

Fallacy 3. The term “*inhabitant*” used in the census not meaning “*inhabitant*” in its ordinary acceptation.

What is population? Who are inhabitants? Where do people live? The changes may be rung upon these terms to any tune that may best harmonize with the views of

fallacy-mongers. People may be truly said to *live* where, by their active avocations, they obtain the means by which they subsist. Says Shylock, and is he not right? "You take my *life*, when you do take the means whereby I live." Charles Lamb says somewhere, referring to his desk at the India House, "I derive *life* from this dead board." Do the commercial inhabitants of Kensington really *live in* Kensington? Where do people *live*? If it were asked, "where do people snore?" then the correct answer would certainly be, "where they sleep."

But that is not the question for the solution of which the 1,837 pages of statistics, which make up the Census return for 1861, were laboriously compiled. Census population of Kensington District, 185,950. Has it that number of inhabitants? 707 Merchants, 47 Bankers, 228 Stock and Colonial Brokers, 49 Shipowners and Brokers, 100 Accountants, and 761 Mercantile Clerks are included in the Kensington population. Let us accept this total of 1,892 inhabitants as a sample and test of the value of the return. The banks of the bankers, the Stock Exchange of the stock-brokers, the offices of the merchants and accountants, and the Mincing Lane and Commercial sale-rooms of the Colonial brokers, are four miles from Kensington.

Daily, and immediately after breakfast, every one of these 1,892 gentlemen leave their homes for their respective places of business within the City of London, to house, and feed, and clothe their families—to earn commercial reputation, and to amass wealth—to put forth their energies, to tax their brains, and to devote themselves wholly to the real and exclusive business of their lives—that, at the close of the day, they may retrace their four miles of way, to refresh themselves, and to sleep. Do these men *live* in Kensington? Their thoughts,

hopes, cares, and anxieties are concentrated in the City of London. Hundreds of thousands of the best brains of the Metropolis wend their way every morning from each of the 38 non-municipal districts towards the City proper, to devote themselves to the chosen business of their lives during the whole business portion of the day, and then—when the doors of the Bank of England are shut, and the Banking-houses have suspended payment until the morrow, when the Royal Exchange and Custom House are closed, when the Stock Exchange has impartially ejected its Bulls and its Bears, and Lloyd's has made holiday—then and therefore, these hundreds of thousands of the mercantile men of the commercial emporium of the world, return to the homes of their families in all directions of the compass, to refresh themselves, “to sleep, perchance to dream,” until the hour shall arrive when they must resume the active and energetic business of their lives in the City of London. Do these gentlemen, enumerated as in Kensington, live in Kensington or in London proper? It may appear a trivial question. It does not simply refer to the 1,892, but to the 200,000 to 300,000 male adults, similarly living all day in the City but sleeping in one of that City's 38 suburban districts, or in the regions beyond. Those districts are but off-shoots from the parent-stem—places of refuge for a commercial population which cannot find convenient space for their families within the restricted area of the Municipal City.

Population has swarmed upon and settled in and around the old Capital, because of the great and multifarious advantages to be thence derived. “The army of people moving on the City every morning,” *belongs to the City*. Those composing it do not make their diurnal approach as mere visitors, for mere amuse-

ment, as the few hundreds who daily go to Kensington to inspect second-hand models or third-rate pictures. A very large proportion of this "army" are *rated occupiers* of houses or tenements within the City, and pay enormous rents, and very heavy rates and taxes too—certainly not because they sleep in Kensington, but, because they belong, fiscally at any rate, to the locality in which their business premises are situate.

It is doubtless most convenient, in order to the numbering of the people of the United Kingdom, that the decennial census should be taken at *midnight*. But the midnight census, having served for that purpose, should not be permitted to restrict or qualify the operations of the functionaries of the State, of the Municipality, or of those who are authorized to put their hands in the pockets of the people; nor is it right or reasonable that advantage should be taken of so immaterial or accidental a circumstance, as the locality of a person's bedroom to impeach his Municipal privilege, or to deny or question the just rights of his Municipality.

If the census were to be taken at *noon*, instead of at midnight, the decadence of the City of London would be difficult to make out. Indeed, every frequenter of the City *knows* that there are no signs of decay.

So, if the census were taken in October, instead of in April, the return for the Metropolis would ignore the existence of the aristocratic classes of the community altogether; St. George's Hanover Square and Belgravia would then appear depopulated, or would be peopled almost exclusively by charwomen. The Houses of Peers and of the Commons would be represented by house-keepers, and the gate-keeper at Buckingham Palace

would be the only representative of Royalty in town. By the same process, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge could be shewn to have fallen into decay, by taking the census during vacation.

Do the landed gentry and aristocracy—do Queen, Lords and Commons—their families, dependants and domestics, reside in London? From February, till the close of July, YES; from August till February, NO! In the decennial census they might, with truth, be represented as residing in the rural districts in which their ancestral mansions are situate; but by the accidental gathering of the census in the spring they are credited to the western Metropolis and other suburban districts. Let us suppose that, for some sufficient reason, Parliament should direct the next census to be taken in the autumn; what a lamentation would be heard from our matter-of-fact statisticians about the decadence of western London, the decrease “year by year” of the flower of its population, and the gloomy prospects of the west-end of the Metropolis! This is but a parallel case to that of the City of London. For a sufficient reason, which no one disputes or denies, the census is taken when men are in their beds, and not in their counting-houses; and the question arises, whether the mercantile, banking, and commercial classes of the City reside *in* the City? During the hours of activity, YES; during the night, NO! In the decennial census they with their families, are credited to the suburbs, where they sleep, and not to the City, in which they work daily with their clerks. This is inevitable, according to the present mode of taking the census. But then it does not follow, as the matter-of-fact statisticians will have it, that all the merchants and bankers are dead, their City depopulated, their offices “ur

habited " and their trade and commerce a myth. They are as much in existence and entitled to be taken into account, as the Queen, aristocracy and gentry would have to be considered, were the census taken at a period which would seem to exclude them as residents of the Metropolis.

The two cases put are precisely parallel in principle, though they are treated differently in practice ; hence the *fallacy* which constantly represents the City as becoming depopulated, when every one connected with it knows that it is ever and largely on the increase ; hence the injustice of treating it as relatively unimportant, and unworthy of fair consideration, in relation to the wider areas of the Metropolis.

Before proceeding further in the elucidation of this part of the subject, let us look at a few *absurd* results, at which we necessarily arrive if we adhere to the night census as a test of the relative importance of the City.

It will not be questioned that, with the exception of some half-dozen merchants whose offices are situate without the City's boundary, in Finsbury Square, all the foreign merchants carry on their business *within* the City. They all meet at the Royal Exchange, the Baltic, or the North and South American Coffee-houses, and they all pay their Customs' duties at the Custom House, in the City of London. Now, how many of these " Merchants " do we find in the City according to the " Census of Occupations " of the Registrar-General ? Just 356 !

Now, the merchants of the City paid, in the last nine years, Customs' duties on their merchandise amounting to £108,134,119, being an average of £12,014,902 per annum. So that, if we are to accept the census figures as fairly repre-

senting the quality of the City population, we arrive at the startling conclusion that each merchant, in the City, pays Government £33,749 annually as his average share of Customs' duties; and yet, as we shall find presently, this mercantile population which pays *more than half* of the Customs' duties of the whole Empire, is *statistically* shewn to be the most criminal in the Kingdom.

Again; here is another absurd result. The "Bankers" of the City are returned in the occupation census at *nine* persons! The City bankers possess a Clearing-house which does not include the West-end bankers. It is difficult, outside the select banking circle, to obtain the amount of the yearly exchanges of this Clearing-house. But, having procured the clearing figures of several of the banks, we arrive at the conclusion that the annual clearing of the City banks must be *six thousand millions*; and this does not represent the business transacted over the counter. We thus arrive at the conclusion, under the guidance of the midnight census, that nine bankers, or, say, *three firms* exchange *two thousand millions*, per firm, per annum.

Again; it appears by the Stock Exchange Official List that there are 1,234 Stock and Share-brokers and jobbers in the City; but the official Census informs us that but *ten* of these carry on the enormous business of all dealings in £800,000,000 of the National Debt, and in the much larger amount of Railway, Foreign, Colonial and other stocks, shares, loans and securities. Of Underwriters there appear to be *none* in the City; but 39 shipping brokers and agents carry on the *whole* shipping business of the Port of London, of a tonnage equal to 10,460,000 tons annually.

Again; there are in the City of London, according to the census of 1861, 113,387 persons; of these, by the same tables 33,213 are children, who may be assumed to be generally free from crime. This leaves 80,174 persons as the adult residents of the City. The "Judicial Statistics" of the Home Secretary shew that, in 1864, there were proceeded against, summarily or on indictment, in the City of London, 9,641 persons. Now, if we assume that the ages of the whole of the adult inhabitants range from 15 years upwards, it results, from a calculation based on the known laws of mortality, that *each person* in the City, on an average, has been *convicted three times* during the term of his or her natural life—an amount of crime which has never been assumed to exist in any other civilized community. We present this calculation and result, which have been tested by an eminent Actuary, to the matter-of-fact statisticians as a "statistic" quite as reliable as those which have preceded it. Of this more anon.

But, it will be inquired—if the population of the City is neither mercantile nor commercial, of what does it consist? It would be exceedingly difficult to define the character of its motley population on a census night. It would seem, from the following figures, to be rather *rural, pastoral and agricultural* than urban and commercial. Indeed, it would appear from the census returns, that the City of London occupies a very high—nay, *the highest place*—as it regards the efficient cultivation of its soil—it having a greater number of farmers, in proportion to its acreage, than any other agricultural district in Great Britain! On the night of the Census, there were, it is true, in the City of London, 9 bankers, 10 stock-brokers, and a few merchants; but on the other hand there were found 44 farmers—being at the rate of *one farmer to every*

sixteen acres. There were also 3 *farm-bailiffs*, 23 *gardeners*, 6 *fishermen* and 1 gentle *shepherd*! One apprentice is also recorded—the last of his race—“crying in the wilderness” of desolate London, over the departed trading glories of this ancient City of Whittington.*

The case is clear, and is confirmatory of what we shall adduce presently from the same statistical tables—that over 2,000 houses are “uninhabited” in the City, representing an amount of desolation exceeding that which would result if the whole cathedral city of Durham, or county towns of Guildford, or Buckingham, or Dorchester were divested of every inhabitant. The besom of destruction is indeed passing over this once populous but now decaying City. Like Nineveh and the proud city of Babylon, she is, to a great extent, evidently, laid in heaps, and given over to *shepherds* and the pasturing of flocks; or, may we not find her condition precisely reflected in the desolation of Maritime Tyre—

“How hath decay
Within her palaces a despot been!
Ruin and Silence in her courts have met,
And on her city walls the *fisher* spreads his net!”

Are not these fair deductions from the City midnight “census returns” of 1861?

Let us next ascertain—if the mercantile and banking classes were not found in the City of London, where were they? The following table will, by suggestion, help to answer the question.

* This *one* apprentice—sole type of his class—represented 1,764 apprentices, enrolled in the Chamber of London, as under Indenture at the date of the Census of 1861; to say nothing of lads of this class *un*-enrolled, and a large number not bound in accordance with the custom of London. The apprentices of the City are estimated to exceed *three thousand*; 148 of whom are actually in the establishment *in which the Census Tables were printed*!

There were found on the night of the census in 1861, in the following districts of the Metropolis :—

CITY MEN OF SIX SPECIFIED COMMERCIAL CLASSES, ENUMERATED AS SLEEPING INHABITANTS OF THE SEVERAL METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS.

| Districts of Metropolitan Board of Works. | Merchants. | Bankers. | Stock and Commercial Brokers. | Ship Owners and Brokers. | Accountants. | Commercial Clerks. | Totals. |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------|
| CITY OF LONDON | 356 | 9 | 33 | 54 | 59 | 773 | 1,284 |
| St. George's, Hanover Sq. | 197 | 33 | 44 | 18 | 43 | 373 | 708 |
| Marylebone | 345 | 23 | 101 | 22 | 60 | 613 | 1,164 |
| St. Pancras | 306 | 14 | 114 | 61 | 144 | 1,010 | 1,649 |
| Paddington | Given in the census with Ken sington. | | | | | | |
| Islington | 563 | 27 | 211 | 110 | 216 | 2,039 | 3,166 |
| Lambeth | 323 | 7 | 170 | 76 | 111 | 1,274 | 1,961 |
| Kensington | 707 | 47 | 228 | 49 | 100 | 761 | 1,892 |
| St. James's, Westminster.. | 134 | 7 | 17 | 9 | 3 | 168 | 338 |
| Lewisham | 222 | 6 | 109 | 51 | 40 | 316 | 744 |
| Hackney | 277 | 13 | 166 | 94 | 149 | 1,465 | 2,164 |
| Wandsworth | 194 | 15 | 87 | 19 | 44 | 277 | 636 |
| Poplar | 22 | 0 | 20 | 60 | 29 | 245 | 367 |
| Westminster | 46 | 6 | 21 | 3 | 30 | 234 | 340 |
| Chelsea | 40 | 6 | 35 | 7 | 31 | 222 | 341 |
| Strand | 74 | 6 | 12 | 5 | 24 | 201 | 322 |
| Shoreditch | 57 | 0 | 26 | 18 | 73 | 739 | 913 |
| Whitechapel | 50 | 0 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 140 | 232 |
| Greenwich | 85 | 1 | 56 | 65 | 53 | 317 | 577 |
| St. Giles's | 136 | 13 | 33 | 7 | 24 | 322 | 535 |
| St. Martin's | 62 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 123 | 205 |
| Camberwell | 197 | 5 | 107 | 58 | 85 | 858 | 1,310 |
| Clerkenwell | 57 | 0 | 21 | 10 | 31 | 369 | 488 |
| Newington | 87 | 8 | 32 | 23 | 68 | 772 | 990 |
| Limehouse | 13 | 0 | 3 | 32 | 7 | 113 | 168 |
| St. George-in-the-East ... | 6 | 0 | 3 | 18 | 6 | 81 | 114 |
| Holborn | 52 | 1 | 27 | 11 | 27 | 299 | 417 |
| Rotherhithe, etc. | 14 | 0 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 138 | 173 |
| Bethnal Green | 14 | 1 | 20 | 4 | 21 | 295 | 355 |
| Mile End Old Town | 25 | 0 | 17 | 41 | 38 | 504 | 625 |
| St. Luke's | 71 | 1 | 11 | 4 | 22 | 145 | 254 |
| Fulham | Given in the census with Ken sington. | | | | | | |
| St. Saviour | 14 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 76 | 106 |
| Bermondsey | 13 | 0 | 9 | 11 | 20 | 188 | 241 |
| Hampstead | 132 | 11 | 37 | 21 | 17 | 101 | 319 |
| St. George, Southwark ... | 30 | 0 | 8 | 6 | 13 | 180 | 237 |
| Woolwich | Given in the census with Green wich. | | | | | | |
| Totals | 4,921 | 263 | 1,808 | 1,000 | 1,622 | 15,731 | 25,345 |

In all 25,345 persons; almost all of whom, it may be safely affirmed, belonged, during the day, to the City of London.

The list might be extended to every district *beyond* the Metropolis; for the suburban residences of the monied and mercantile classes are not, by any means, confined to the Metropolitan districts; and the whole mercantile classes of the City will not be found until the census tables shall have been searched as far as, say Brighton in the south, Hatfield at the north, and Windsor and Chelmsford at the west and east of London, respectively. The subjoined table of *four* specified classes of City men, sleeping within certain places selected from *beyond* the Metropolitan districts, will place this point above controversy.

MERCHANTS, ETC., SLEEPING *BEYOND* THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS, IN CERTAIN PLACES SELECTED. [Census of 1861.]

| | Merchants. | Stock and Commercial Brokers. | Accountants. | Commercial Clerks. | TOTALS. | | Merchants. | Stock and Commercial Brokers. | Accountants. | Commercial Clerks. | TOTALS. |
|-------------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------|-------------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------|
| Barnet ... | 16 | 11 | ... | 32 | 59 | Kingston . | 53 | 48 | 11 | 61 | 173 |
| Brentford . | 52 | 25 | 27 | 90 | 194 | Reading ... | 16 | 7 | 13 | 33 | 69 |
| Brighton... | 74 | 21 | 44 | 99 | 238 | Reigate ... | 36 | 19 | 6 | 26 | 87 |
| Bromley ... | 49 | 18 | 4 | 30 | 101 | Richmond. | 39 | 21 | 13 | 45 | 118 |
| Chertsey... | 21 | 10 | 3 | 5 | 39 | Romford.. | 27 | 10 | 5 | 37 | 79 |
| Croydon... | 155 | 106 | 25 | 169 | 455 | Staines ... | 10 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 32 |
| Dartford... | 26 | 26 | 12 | 32 | 96 | Steyning... | 17 | 7 | 4 | 16 | 44 |
| Edmonton. | 89 | 114 | 32 | 275 | 510 | Tunbridge | 13 | 7 | 8 | 25 | 53 |
| Eltham ... | 18 | 5 | 7 | 16 | 46 | Uxbridge.. | 9 | 1 | 5 | 29 | 44 |
| Epping ... | 9 | 14 | 2 | 14 | 39 | Ware | 10 | 2 | 1 | 15 | 28 |
| Epsom ... | 36 | 21 | 7 | 34 | 98 | West Ham | 97 | 78 | 29 | 241 | 445 |
| Eton | 10 | 2 | 3 | 19 | 34 | Worthing . | 11 | 4 | ... | 13 | 28 |
| Guildford . | 13 | 2 | 4 | 32 | 51 | Windsor... | 15 | 11 | 3 | 23 | 52 |
| Gravesend. | 10 | 22 | 9 | 39 | 80 | | | | | | |
| Hendon ... | 27 | 8 | 6 | 34 | 75 | Totals .. | 958 | 627 | 288 | 1494 | 3367 |

A return of the number of season-tickets issued by the railways to places, say, from twelve to fifty miles from London would confirm this statement.

The totals of the table of the persons engaged in the *six* commercial occupations specified, sleeping within the Metropolis give us :—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Merchants | 4,921 |
| Bankers | 263 |
| Stock and commercial brokers | 1,808 |
| Ship-owners, brokers and agents | 1,000 |
| Accountants | 1,622 |
| Commercial clerks | 15,731 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 25,345 |

To which add the total of the above table of merchants and others residing *beyond* the Metropolitan area

3,367

Total.....28,712

It will be seen, that, against this total, only 1,284 persons were returned as in the City of London, on the night of the census, viz. :—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Merchants | 356 |
| Bankers | 9 |
| Stock and commercial brokers | 33 |
| Ship-owners, brokers and agents | 54 |
| Accountants | 59 |
| Commercial clerks | 773 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total..... | 1,284 |

It will therefore appear that, of the specified classes above enumerated, the City of London is, by the census tables, fitted with 1,284 persons out of 28,712, being less than

five per cent. of that portion of the population which almost exclusively belongs to it; whilst other districts in and near the Metropolis have accorded to them more than *ninety-five* per cent. of the mercantile, banking, financial and shipping classes of the City of London.*

The inadequacy of the above figures to test the *actual* numbers will be apparent, if we treat separately *one* of the six specified classes. To select the class of *Brokers*.—The Census tables, as above, account for only 33 as found in the City out of 1,808 Brokers returned as sleeping within the Metropolis. The subjoined table, extracted from the London Stock Exchange Official List, and from the Post-office Directory, shews that 3,297 Brokers, in all, carry on their business *within* the City of London.

* We give an illustration of the prevalent misconception on these points which exists in well-informed quarters:—

Dr. Farr, of the Registrar-General's office, being asked by the Committee of the House of Commons on Local Government and Taxation, (Qu. 2,420) "Are you not aware that nearly all those who take the management of the affairs of the City of London do *not* sleep in the City at night?" replied, "I was not aware of that; I thought the Common Council generally were resident (*i. e.*, sleeping resident) shopkeepers, and other people of that class." We have taken the trouble to obtain an exact return of the residence of every member of the Corporation (Aldermen and Councilmen), and we find that, out of the total of 232 members, 197 have suburban or country residences, and would not, therefore, be returned in the Census as connected with the City. Only the remaining 35 live and sleep within the City.

Of the total, there reside and sleep *within* the City of

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| London..... | 35 |
| „ „ sleep <i>within</i> the Metropolitan area... | 163 |
| „ „ „ <i>beyond</i> the Metropolitan area... | 34 |
| Total Members of the Corporation..... | <u>232</u> |

NUMBER OF BROKERS CARRYING ON BUSINESS IN THE CITY OF
LONDON :—

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-------|
| Bill | 71 | Mining | 10 |
| Bullion | 27 | Oil, etc. | 67 |
| Coach | 15 | Provision | 5 |
| Coffee | 10 | Rice..... | 3 |
| Colonial | 223 | Russia | 61 |
| Cork | 2 | For Sale of Ships | 3 |
| Cotton..... | 25 | Ship and Insurance | 653 |
| Discount..... | 41 | Silk | 29 |
| Drug | 59 | Stock and Share | 1,232 |
| Exchange | 41 | Sugar | 23 |
| Fire Insurance | 5 | Tea | 106 |
| Fruit | 26 | Timber | 26 |
| Hide and Fur..... | 16 | Tobacco | 34 |
| India | 70 | Wine and Spirit..... | 48 |
| Indigo..... | 38 | Wool | 60 |
| Insurance | 199 | | |
| Ivory | 10 | Total..... | 3,297 |
| Lead | 4 | | |
| Metal | 64 | Firms estimated at 2½ each. | |

It thus appears that only 33 Brokers were included in the night Census of 1861, as in the City, out of a total of 3,297 Brokers—*being just one per cent. of the whole ! **

Uncertainty on these points is now happily at an end. The Corporation of London, noticing the frequent abuse of the figures which conventionally represent the population of the City—perceiving, as they thought, a disposition in certain quarters to re-arrange the Metropolis, for Municipal purposes, on that delusive basis—observing also the constantly increasing fiscal power of the Metropolitan Board of Works and the inadequate share of representation which the City possesses at that Board, relatively to the other districts of the

* The facts above stated were brought by Mr. Crawford, M.P., before the House of Commons during the discussions on the Representation of the People in England and Wales Bill, in 1867, and the result was that the limits of residence for voters for the City of London were extended from seven miles to twenty-five miles.

Metropolis, held it to be their duty to set at rest the question of the *actual* population of the City by taking a DAY CENSUS of its inhabitants.

The results have been recently made public in a Report, issued by authority of the Corporation. It supplies figures which, until 1871 (when it is hoped that the Registrar-General will undertake a similar census) must serve as *data* for arriving at a fair approximate estimate of the relative importance of the City in relation to the rest of the Metropolis—so far as population can form a basis of comparison.

The gross inconsistency of measuring the City by its sleeping population which, as shewn, omits almost entirely, the Commercial element of the commercial capital of the world, is well and briefly stated in the following extract from the Corporation Report :—

“In taking a Census, to ignore the mill-owners and spinners of Manchester ; or to omit the coal-owners, workers and shippers of Northumberland ; or to gather the Census of Belgravia and West London in the autumn, when aristocracy is out of town, would not so grossly misrepresent facts as to eliminate the banking, mercantile and commercial element from the enumeration of the City of London by taking its Census in the night.”

The statements we have already made, and the absurd results which have been deduced from the figures previously given, must be conclusive as to the necessity which existed for the Day Census. Its utility in relation to several important problems which await solution in reference to the “Local Government and Taxation of the Metropolis” cannot be questioned.

The Royal Commissioners on Municipal Corporations (1837) in their Second Report, indicate their opinion of the fallaciousness of the usual census of the City population as a test of its relative importance. They observe—

"We doubt much whether the comparative rates of increase and decrease furnish any satisfactory test of the relative importance of the districts. One objection to such a test is, that, under the particular circumstances of the City, it seems not difficult to suggest reasons why a rise in its prosperity may produce a diminution in its population. Thus an advance in its prosperity might render land more valuable for warehouses, and therefore drive out the poorer population. It is also to be observed that much of the importance of the City arises from its being the daily resort of great numbers who, as they do not sleep in it, are not strictly a part of its population; and that the prevalence of this habit has been continually on the increase during the present century."

Mr. Haywood, C.E., in a report which bears upon this important subject,* makes the following remark upon the delusive nature of the figures hitherto made use of to represent the City population :—

"The present sleeping population neither represents the actual population, nor the vastness of the City in any respect, for it is mainly composed of the poor labouring classes, or of those left in charge of the various premises; and year by year it will be *less representative* of the City."

But the most important testimony which has as yet appeared, in reference to this subject, is that of Dr. Farr, Superintendent of the Statistical Department of the Registrar-General.

In reply to a question (No. 2,422) put to him by the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the "Local Government and Taxation of the Metropolis," that gentleman replied—

"It is quite fair, I think, in considering the relative importance of the City of London, to take that element (that persons having offices in the City, sleep out of the City) into account. It is not taken into account in the census. The City is, no doubt, of much greater importance than it appears, if you consider merely the figures given in the census."

* "Report on Traffic, etc., City of London." By W. Haywood, M. Inst. C.E.; F.R.I.A.B., Surveyor and Engineer to the City Commissioners of Sewers. 1866.

The subjoined statement gives the TOTALS of the enumeration of the City and Liberties made by the Corporation in 1866 :—

The *total day* population residing in the City 283,520

The number of persons *resorting* to the City daily in sixteen hours (not included in the above), being customers, clients, and other frequenters 509,611

The *total* number of persons resorting to the City daily in a day of sixteen hours 679,744

The *total* number of persons resorting to the City daily in a day of twenty-four hours... 728,986

We are *now* in a position to bring statistical science, with some degree of certainty, to bear upon a variety of questions intimately affecting the dwellers within the Metropolis; and which will more and more excite their interest as they shall feel the weight of increasing burthens—the result of existing local arrangements.

The population of the City proper is seen to be highly migratory in its character. It is also on the *increase*, for by the City Census Report it is shewn that, comparing the results of an enumeration made by the late Mr. D. W. Harvey, Police Commissioner, in 1860, with the results gathered in 1866, there is an increased *daily* flow into the City, during twelve hours, of 21,977 persons since his enumeration.

With reference to the extraordinary throng of daily frequenters of the City and its thoroughfares, we quote the following important conclusions arrived at by Mr. Haywood in his Report on Street Traffic, already alluded to. He summarizes thus :—

“That the residential or *sleeping* population of the City was in 1861, 113,387, and is likely to diminish ; but that the *true* population is composed of those to whom the City is the place of daily resort, and which is perhaps three-quarters of a million in addition to the sleeping population.

“That the traffic of the City has for several years been increasing in a greater ratio than the increase of the Metropolitan population.

“That in 1848 a traffic equal to *one-seventh* of the whole Metropolitan population entered the City during nine of the busiest hours of the day.

“That in 1860 a traffic equal to nearly *one-fifth* of the whole Metropolitan population entered the City during twelve of the busiest hours of the day ; and a traffic equal to *one-fourth* of the whole Metropolitan population during the twenty-four hours.

“That the traffic which enters the City daily, and which is chiefly composed of males, is equal in number to *one-half* of the whole male population of the Metropolis.

“That the traffic now entering the City daily is about *three-quarters of a million*, and in forty years hence will probably be *a million and a half*.

“That the great bulk of the Metropolitan population select their residences with a view to the facility with which the City can be reached.

“That it is for *their* convenience chiefly that improvement in the City thoroughfares is needed; and not for the convenience of the residential (or sleeping) population of the City only.

“That this daily business population needs now, and hereafter will need still more, improved means of transit to the City.

“That, within the City itself, there is hardly a leading thoroughfare which is equal to the traffic that passes through it.”—*Report*, pp. 108, 109.

But, to return to the relative importance of the City of London. It will be seen, by what has preceded, that the City is not, as yet, depopulated, as some, on insufficient data, have too hastily assumed; nor are its streets deserted. Whether its houses are “uninhabited,” and its population depraved, remain to be seen—subjects which must be treated of in subsequent chapters.

We can only affirm, at present, that relatively to Kensington and the Metropolis, the City is not, in any sense, in the position which has been attributed to it.

We have proved—

That the term “Kensington” has been used in a sense which does not mean Kensington, but a much larger district.

That a "year by year decrease" of one per cent. in the *sleeping* population of the City does not mean anything of the kind ; but, that, instead of a ratio of one per cent. annually, or 100 per cent. in a century (so that the City would be depopulated in 1971), the true ratio is barely 14 per cent. in a hundred years.

That the term "inhabitant," made use of in reference to the City, does not mean inhabitant, but merely a person sleeping in the City. That the resident population of the City, at the very least, is 283,520, while that of Kensington, at *its maximum*, is but 70,108, being *less than a fourth part of the population of the City of London* ; and further, it has been shewn, as resulting from all this, that Kensington is in no position to overtake the City of London as it regards population.

That "the army that moves on the City daily, is unparalleled in numbers by any human tide which has ever moved on any city," we have not attempted to disprove ; for it has been ascertained, as we have seen, that that army consists of no less than three-quarters of a million of persons, five-sixths of whom consist of males, resorting to the City daily for purposes of business. That "army" is likewise on the increase—21,977 persons having been added to it daily during the busiest hours of the day, in a period of six years.*

It remains to be stated that a tendency to decrease in the *sleeping* population is not by any means confined to the City of London ; but that a similar migration from the centres of business during the night is taking place elsewhere, and will

* See "City Census Report," p. 11.

continue to do so within the Metropolis. This is particularly noticeable, as might be expected, in the City of Westminster.

This *decrease* in the sleeping population has already been :

| | Persons. |
|---|----------|
| In St. James's Parish..... in 10 years | 1,080 |
| in 20 years | 2,072 |
| In St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in 10 years | 1,951 |
| in 40 years | 5,563 |
| In St. Mary-le-Strand in 10 years | 445 |
| In St. Paul's, Covent Garden ... in 10 years | 656 |
| In St. Margaret's, Westminster... in 10 years | 535 |

In most of the above cases the ratio of decrease, relatively to population, is much higher than in the City of London. The Registrar-General takes notice of this decrease in respect of several parishes. He says, of St. Margaret's parish—

“The decrease of population has been progressive for some years, owing to *private families* having left for the advantage of letting their houses for solicitors', engineers' and railway contractors' offices ; to the pulling down of houses for the new thoroughfare to Pimlico (Victoria Street), and in contemplation of new Public Offices.”

Here we have an insight into the causes which are reducing the sleeping population of Westminster, and which are identical with those operating in the City of London. Private families, with their domestics and children, are giving place to solicitors, engineers, and other men of business and public men ; but who is to say that *Victoria Street*, Westminster, is not of as much relative importance as a street of private residences ?

The following Metropolitan parishes and sub-districts shew a *decreased* sleeping population in 1861, as compared with 1851 :—

| | Sleeping Population. | | Decrease. |
|--|----------------------|--------|-----------|
| | 1851. | 1881. | |
| St. Andrew's, Holborn (above Bars) | 29,320 | 28,721 | 599 |
| St. Giles-in-the-Fields..... | 37,407 | 36,684 | 723 |
| Spitalfields | 20,960 | 20,593 | 367 |
| Whitechapel..... | 37,848 | 37,454 | 394 |
| St. Paul's, Covent Garden..... | 5,810 | 5,154 | 656 |
| Liberty of the Rolls | 2,564 | 2,274 | 290 |
| St. Leonard, Shoreditch | 19,449 | 19,188 | 261 |
| St. Paul, Shadwell | 11,702 | 8,499 | 3,203 |
| St. Saviour, Southwark | 19,709 | 19,101 | 608 |
| St. Olave, ,, | 6,460 | 6,197 | 263 |
| St. Thomas, ,, | 1,555 | 1,466 | 89 |
| St. George's (Hanover Square sub-district) ... | 20,216 | 19,773 | 443 |
| ,, (May Fair ,,) ... | 12,980 | 12,885 | 95 |

It must not be assumed that, because the sleeping population of Westminster diminishes, it is consequently diminishing in importance. The contrary is known to be the fact; and the same remark applies to many parishes in the above list. A constant, gradual and inevitable migration is taking place, which will reduce the *sleeping* population in the great centres of industry and trade—augmenting, more and more, in this sense, the outlying portions of the Metropolis. It will become the duty of the inhabitants of the Cities of London and Westminster, and of places similarly circumstanced, to see that no injustice is done by placing representation upon an empirical basis—derived from a false view of the term “*inhabitant*” as used in the Registration Tables.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE CITY—DETERMINED BY THE NUMBER AND VALUE OF ITS HOUSES, INHABITED AND UNINHABITED.

THE relative importance of a district may be conveniently estimated by the number and value of its houses. We propose, therefore, to test the relative importance of the City to the rest of the Metropolis by ascertaining the number and value of its houses—inquiring how far they are inhabited.

The Reports of the Registrar-General as to the number of houses in the City, if accepted without explanation or qualification, convey the same melancholy idea of decay and desolation as do the figures, to which we have referred, respecting population.

The following table is extracted from the census returns of the present century, and shews, it will be observed, a *decreasing* number of houses inhabited, and an *increasing* number of houses *uninhabited* within the City. What more conclusive evidence of decay could be presented? So argue the matter-of-fact statisticians !

| Census of | Houses Inhabited. | Houses Uninhabited. | Total Houses. | Houses Building. |
|-----------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1811 | 17,413 | 458 | 17,871 | 61 |
| 1821 | 17,170 | 1,015 | 18,185 | 105 |
| 1831 | 16,735 | 1,131 | 17,866 | 81 |
| 1841 | 16,051 | 980 | 17,031 | 95 |
| 1851 | 14,706 | 1,454 | 16,160 | 29 |
| 1861 | 13,431 | 2,057 | 15,488 | 97 |

The decrease of inhabited houses, during the last fifty years, has been 3,982 houses, or at the rate of 23 per cent. ! and the increase of uninhabited houses in the same period has been 1,599—being at the rate of 350 per cent. !!!

Lamentable, indeed, must be the condition of that Empire whose Capital city of 15,488 houses is so reduced, in the estimation of its citizens, that thirteen in every hundred of them is, on the official report of its chief statistician, uninhabited ; for, if 2,000 houses in the City are uninhabited, must not the effect be, so to reduce the rental of the other 13,488, as greatly to impoverish their unfortunate owners ?

Before we address ourselves to the causes of this decay, or even inquire whether it exists, let us endeavour to estimate its extent—to afford the mind some assistance in enabling it to grasp the idea presented by the above figures—comparing with the uninhabited houses of the City those inhabited in other more favoured Cities, Towns and Parishes.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| The decrease in the number of houses—1811 | |
| to 1861, was | 3,982 |
| The increase of houses uninhabited was | 1,599 |
| Total houses pulled down and untenanted | <u>5,581</u> |

The decrease in the last *decennial* period

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| —1851 to 1861, was | 1,275 |
| Houses at present uninhabited..... | 2,057 |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Total of houses which have disappeared in 10 years, and of houses now untenanted | <u>3,332</u> |
|---|--------------|

The desolation presented by 5,581 houses which have either disappeared or become untenanted in the City of London, since 1811, may be conveniently estimated by comparing those figures with the total number of *inhabited* houses in any of the CITIES undermentioned—on the supposition that the most populous of the cities were left without an inhabitant !

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-------|
| City of Oxford | Inhabited houses 1861 | 5,234 |
| „ Carlisle | „ „ | 5,140 |
| „ Lincoln | „ „ | 4,315 |
| „ Canterbury | „ „ | 3,908 |
| „ Rochester | „ „ | 3,074 |
| „ Hereford | „ „ | 3,005 |
| „ Gloucester | „ „ | 2,854 |
| „ Peterboro' | „ „ | 2,401 |
| „ Winchester | „ „ | 2,392 |
| „ Salisbury | „ „ | 2,344 |
| „ Durham | „ „ | 2,007 |
| „ Chichester | „ „ | 1,601 |
| „ Ely | „ „ | 1,559 |
| „ Wells | „ „ | 863 |

It will be observed that the assumed desolation in the City of London is equivalent to the obliteration of the most populous of the above Cities, or of the united Cities of Chichester, Ely and Wells—with 1,558 houses, equal to another City of Ely, to spare.

The desolation presented to the mind by 5,581 houses pulled down or untenanted, since 1811, may be further esti-

mated by supposing that the most populous of the under-mentioned PARISHES or DISTRICTS of the Metropolis were left without an inhabitant :—

| Parishes and Districts. | Inhabited Houses. |
|--|-------------------|
| St. Martin's-in-the-Fields | 2,240* |
| St. James's, Westminster | 3,333* |
| St. John's, Ditto | 3,723 |
| St. Margaret's, Ditto | 3,039 |
| St. Mary's, Paddington | 4,826 |
| St. John's, Ditto | 4,861 |
| Fulham | 2,481* |
| St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury | 4,690* |
| St. Saviour's, Southwark District | 4,471* |
| Holborn District | 4,176* |
| Woolwich | 4,596* |
| Lewisham | 3,789* |
| Strand District | 3,742* |
| St. Peter and St. Paul, Hammersmith ... | 4,164 |
| St. Anne, Limehouse | 3,694 |
| Wapping, Shadwell and Ratcliff | 3,747 |
| Bromley, St. Leonard's | 3,407 |
| St. Mary's, Rotherhithe | 3,521 |
| Clapham | 3,404 |
| Plumstead and Charlton | 4,312 |
| Spitalfields | 2,063 |
| Whitechapel | 4,395 |
| Battersea, with Penge | 3,793 |

The desolation wrought in *ten* years by 3,332 houses removed since 1851 and houses now untenanted, may be estimated by supposing that the most populous of the under-mentioned TOWNS, returning Members to Parliament, were left without an inhabitant :—

* The Parishes or Districts marked with an asterisk (*) return members
 * Metropolitan Board of Works.

| Borough Towns. | Inhabited Houses. | Borough Towns. | Inhabited Houses. |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Banbury | 2,068 | Lancaster | 2,992 |
| Barnstaple | 2,186 | Morpeth | 2,312 |
| Bedford | 2,752 | Newark | 2,558 |
| Beverley | 2,403 | Newcastle-under-Lyne | 2,659 |
| Bridgewater | 2,123 | Pontefract | 2,596 |
| Bury St. Edmund's ... | 2,852 | St. Ives | 2,116 |
| Clitheroe | 2,247 | Sandwich and Deal ... | 2,672 |
| Falmouth and Penryn | 2,238 | Stafford | 2,241 |
| Frome..... | 2,066 | Tamworth | 2,103 |
| Grantham | 2,254 | Taunton | 2,899 |
| Great Grimsby | 3,161 | Tiverton..... | 2,210 |
| Hastings..... | 3,290 | Truro | 2,391 |
| Hythe..... | 2,843 | Warwick..... | 2,272 |
| Kendal | 2,590 | Whitby | 2,464 |

We next proceed to inquire—If there has been such an amount of decay and consequent depopulation as is depicted by these figures, what has been its effect upon the value of the property of the unfortunate owners?—what the consequent reduction of rents?—and what the diminution in the taxable rental of the City?

And here we are met, as before, by an astounding paradox! Houses have been removed and rendered untenable to the number of 5,581 in 50 years, or to the extent of 3,332 in 10 years; but the annual value of the City has risen from £565,243 to £2,109,935—an increase of no less a sum than £1,544,692 per annum.

For, the rental of the City was, in 1811... £565,243

It is now, according to the last assessment

of the Metropolitan Board of Works ... 2,109,935

Increased annual value in 55 years..... £1,544,692

*This is at the rate of 273 per cent. !**

* Since 1866, the Rateable Value of the City (exclusive of the Temple) has further increased to £3,051,381 in 1876, showing a ratio of increase since 1811 of over 439 per cent. !!

Such a result appears even more paradoxical than that which we presented in relation to the assumed diminution of the City's *population*. We seem again to be involved in a network of fallacies; let us strive to clear our way as we best may. The fallacies would appear to be chiefly three—

1. It is overlooked that a "house" is not a common measure of magnitude or value.

2. It is assumed that displacement of houses necessarily implies destruction of property and diminished value.

3. The term "*uninhabited* house" does not mean *uninhabited* house, but something else.

Fallacy 1. It is overlooked that a "house" is not a common measure of magnitude or value; and that, unless it be used intelligently, to measure relative importance, it will only mislead.

A bushel is a standard measure of definite contents, and with it we measure corn. A quart is a legal measure of liquid quantity, and with it we measure beer. What is a house? Is it a common or equable measure of anything? A house is to the Hottentot a kraal, a wigwam to the Indian, a hovel to the agricultural labourer, a pig-stye to the poor Irishman, a tenement of from £4 to £10 rental to the artisan of Bethnal Green or Somers Town, a palace in Belgravia or Tyburnia, a bank, an insurance office, or a warehouse six stories in height in the City of London. How can we recognize, as common measures, things differing so greatly in magnitude and quality as "houses" of *undefined size or value*?

We find* that, in the undermentioned districts respectively, there are 24,636 "houses" of from £4 to £10 annual value, viz:—

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|------|
| The Tower Hamlets ... 15,644 | The City of London ... | 133 |
| Southwark Borough ... 4,635 | St. Martin's-in-the-Fields | nil. |
| Lambeth Borough 4,224 | St. James's, Westminster | nil. |

These figures shew, conclusively, that thus to estimate the relative importance of districts, which differ so widely in their character, must yield fallacious results.

If a "house" is to be made a common measure of fiscal apportionment, or of relative importance, it must be reduced to a common value in all the districts, or to a relative value for each district. The day is gone by for measuring butter by the yard, the quart and the pound in one and the same County; and it is equally unreasonable and unscientific to treat a house of £10, and one of £1,000 annual values, as equal common measures.

We possess an easy means of ascertaining the relative value of houses by dividing the rateable value of any district by the number of houses it contains. We thus find a relative measure which can be reduced to a common measure for all the districts.

The following table gives the number of houses in each district of the Metropolis—the rateable values of each district—the average rateable value of a house in each district—shewing also the relative value of a house in each district—and an equation of the numbers of houses in each district of the Metropolis, for the purpose of determining the relative proportion of fiscal

* See Electoral Returns, House of Commons, Session 1866.

representation which should be accorded to each, according to the lowest common value of a house—viz., £13 per annum:—

QUANTITY AND RENTAL-QUALITY OF THE *HOUSES* IN THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS OF THE METROPOLIS, 1866.

| Districts of Metropolitan Board of Works. | 1. Inhabited Houses. | 2. Rateable Value of Districts. | 3. Rateable Value per House. | 4. Relative Number of £13 Houses. |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| St. James's, Westminster | 3,333 | 462,032 | 138'62 | 35,540 |
| City of London..... | 15,431* | 2,109,935 | 136'73 | 162,302 |
| St. Martin's-in-the-Fields | 2,240 | 265,336 | 118'45 | 20,410 |
| St. George's, Hanover Square | 10,437 | 1,076,722 | 103'16 | 82,824 |
| Paddington | 9,687 | 758,344 | 78'28 | 58,334 |
| Strand..... | 3,742 | 286,808 | 76'64 | 22,062 |
| St. Marylebone..... | 16,357 | 1,053,748 | 64'42 | 81,057 |
| St. Giles's | 4,690 | 272,412 | 58'08 | 20,954 |
| St. John's, Hampstead | 2,653 | 147,624 | 55'64 | 11,355 |
| Kensington | 9,481 | 501,132 | 52'85 | 38,548 |
| Westminster | 6,762 | 339,660 | 50'23 | 26,127 |
| Holborn | 4,176 | 194,619 | 46'60 | 14,970 |
| St. Pancras | 21,852 | 925,872 | 42'37 | 71,220 |
| Lewisham | 10,375 | 411,260 | 39'64 | 31,635 |
| Islington..... | 20,704 | 777,632 | 37'56 | 59,817 |
| St. Saviour's, Southwark..... | 4,471 | 164,000 | 36'68 | 12,615 |
| Chelsea | 8,314 | 299,868 | 36'06 | 23,066 |
| Clerkenwell | 7,088 | 242,254 | 34'17 | 18,634 |
| St. Olave's, with Rotherhithe..... | 5,730 | 194,200 | 33'89 | 14,938 |
| Wandsworth | 11,186 | 361,400 | 32'30 | 27,800 |
| St. George's-in-the-East | 6,169 | 196,917 | 31'92 | 15,147 |
| Whitechapel | 8,664 | 276,530 | 31'91 | 21,271 |
| Limehouse | 7,441 | 234,608 | 31'52 | 18,046 |
| Poplar..... | 11,123 | 344,320 | 30'50 | 26,486 |
| St. Luke's | 6,356 | 186,452 | 29'33 | 14,342 |
| Lambeth..... | 22,910 | 637,000 | 27'80 | 49,000 |
| Hackney..... | 13,392 | 370,616 | 27'67 | 28,568 |
| Fulham | 6,645 | 171,876 | 26'41 | 13,221 |
| Shoreditch | 17,072 | 386,044 | 22'61 | 29,695 |
| Greenwich | 13,225 | 274,976 | 20'79 | 21,152 |
| Camberwell | 12,098 | 250,000 | 20'66 | 19,230 |
| St. George's, Southwark | 7,238 | 146,000 | 20'17 | 11,230 |
| Newington | 12,740 | 240,000 | 18'83 | 18,461 |
| Bermondsey | 8,220 | 150,000 | 18'24 | 11,538 |
| Woolwich | 4,596 | 83,000 | 18'05 | 6,384 |
| Mile-End Old Town | 10,758 | 191,056 | 17'75 | 14,696 |
| Bethnal Green | 14,731 | 192,116 | 13'04 | 14,778 |

* Corrected figure.

It will be seen, on reference to the third column of the above table, that the average rateable value of a house in the several districts ranges from £13·04, the lowest (Bethnal Green), to £138·62, the highest (St. James's, Westminster). We therefore take £13 as our measure of common value, and re-arrange the districts, as under, in the order of their relative importance as ascertained by the number of £13 houses in each of the Districts. (See column 4, p. 46.)

DISTRICTS ARRANGED IN THEIR ORDER ACCORDING TO THE
RELATIVE NUMBER OF HOUSES OF £13 RENTAL.

| Districts | Number of £13 Houses. | Districts. | Number of £13 Houses. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. City of London..... | 162,302 | 20. St. Giles's | 20,954 |
| 2. St. George's, Hanover Sq. | 82,824 | 21. St. Martin's | 20,410 |
| 3. Marylebone | 81,057 | 22. Camberwell | 19,230 |
| 4. St. Pancras | 71,220 | 23. Clerkenwell | 18,634 |
| 5. Islington..... | 59,817 | 24. Newington..... | 18,461 |
| 6. Paddington | 58,334 | 25. Limehouse..... | 18,046 |
| 7. Lambeth | 49,000 | 26. St. George's-in-the-East .. | 15,147 |
| 8. Kensington | 38,548 | 27. Holborn..... | 14,970 |
| 9. St. James's, Westminster .. | 35,540 | 28. St. Olave's, with Rother- | |
| 10. Lewisham | 31,635 | hithe | 14,938 |
| 11. Shoreditch | 29,695 | 29. Bethnal Green | 14,778 |
| 12. Hackney | 28,508 | 30. Mile-End Old Town ... | 14,666 |
| 13. Wandsworth..... | 27,800 | 31. St. Luke's | 14,342 |
| 14. Poplar | 26,486 | 32. Fulham | 13,221 |
| 15. Westminster | 26,137 | 33. St. Saviour's, Southwark .. | 12,615 |
| 16. Chelsea | 23,066 | 34. Bermondsey | 11,538 |
| 17. Strand..... | 22,062 | 35. St. John's, Hampstead... | 11,355 |
| 18. Whitechapel | 21,271 | 36. St. George's, Southwark .. | 11,230 |
| 19. Greenwich | 21,152 | 37. Woolwich | 6,384 |

By this table we find that the City occupies the very highest place as it regards the number of houses; that a "house" in St. James's, Westminster, is equal in rental to $10\frac{1}{2}$ houses in Bethnal Green; a "house" in the City is equal to $10\frac{1}{2}$ houses in Bethnal Green; a "house" in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is equal to 9 such houses, and so on for the rest of the Metropolis—"houses" in the Strand, Marylebone, Kensing-

ton, Lewisham and Hackney are equal to 6, 5, 4, 3, and 2 houses of £13 rental each, respectively.

If, then, a "house" is to be used as a common measure of value or of relative importance, we must multiply the number of houses in Hackney by 2, in Lewisham by 3, in Kensington by 4, in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields by 9, in the City by $10\frac{1}{2}$, and in St. James's, Westminster, by $10\frac{3}{4}$, and so with the rest; and we thus obtain, as above, a new series whereby to estimate the relative importance of the several Metropolitan Districts and to arrive at the proportion of fiscal representation which should be apportioned to each. These results are shewn above; their practical application will be treated of in a subsequent chapter.

We have proved that it is fallacious to treat a "house" as a *common measure* of value, until it shall have been reduced by calculation to a *definite* relative value. We now proceed to deal with the next fallacy under this head.

Fallacy 2. It is assumed that the displacement of houses necessarily implies their destruction or diminution in value.

It is *true* that the number of houses in the City has decreased; but it is *untruthful* to aver that the City has consequently diminished in importance. *The reverse is the case, and that to a very extraordinary extent.*

The 17,413 "inhabited" houses in 1811 are said to have decreased to 13,431 in 1861; but the rental of 1811—£565,243—has increased to £2,109,935 in 1866. Therefore, the fewer houses of 1866 are worth more by £1,544,692 than the more numerous houses of 1811. The man who pulls down his barns to build greater does not necessarily erect as many as those removed; but he may, if it

pleases him, provide for a much larger storage in fewer buildings. This is precisely what the citizens of London have been doing, as any of them could have informed the matter-of-fact statisticians. They have erected, in half a century, 3,982 houses less in number than those which have been removed. But the houses standing in 1811 were worth £32 9s. per house, annual value; they are now (1866) worth £137 each, per annum. They were worth, to capitalize them at twenty-five years' purchase, in 1811, £14,131,075; they are now (1866) worth by the same process, £52,748,375. An increase in value of £38,617,300 !*

It will be seen that these figures do not bear out the *prima facie* case of decay and desolation which had been too hastily assumed; they rather inform us that reduction in the number of houses in the City does not imply obliteration but reconstruction—accompanied by an ever-increasing augmentation of value. The report of the House of Commons "Electoral Returns" of the last Session, corroborates this view. It states in a foot-note under the head of "City of London:" "There are 619 blocks of buildings let out as offices and counting-houses." Some of these blocks of offices, as Gresham House, East India Avenue, Mincing Lane Chambers, etc., contain many hundreds of persons, each, during the active hours of the day. The last thirty years have seen the City of London nearly re-constructed, by means of public works and private enterprise; and another twenty years, at the same rate, will witness the completion of the transformation.†

* The rateable value of the City (excluding the Temple) is now, 1876, £3,051,381; which, at twenty-five years' purchase, gives £76,284,525, which shows an increased value since 1811 of no less than £62,153,450 !!

† The Corporation of London have expended on public works and buildings, and in the formation and improvement of streets *within the*

The picture presented is the very reverse of that which abused statistics would appear to make out. Piles of buildings—banks, insurance and other offices—of elegant architectural elevation and symmetrical proportions, present the external aspect of palaces; while shops and stores, which for solidity of construction and capacity of storage throw the humbler buildings of the past into the shade, are rising on every hand. The circumstances of the City—and the same may be said of Westminster, with its club-houses and public offices—are not very dissimilar from those which drew from the Emperor Augustus the boast—

“I found Rome brick, and I left it marble.”

So much for the fallacy which confounds displacement with desolation.

Fallacy 3. The term “*uninhabited house*” of the census tables, does not mean “*uninhabited*,” but something else.

If by that term, so used, it is intended to imply that the houses referred to were untenanted or unoccupied, it is clearly a misnomer—a misapplication of terms. An uninhabited house is not chargeable for rates and taxes; but we find that nearly the whole of the houses returned in the census tables of the City as uninhabited—certainly 2,000 of 2,057—

City, from 1759 (from which date a separate account has been kept) to 1876, a sum exceeding 9½ *millions*. The entire lines of frontage from London Bridge to Finsbury Pavement, and that from Blackfriars Bridge to Farringdon Road, both intersecting the City from North to South, have been reconstructed within the above period. The same may be said of the line from King William Street, westerly along Cannon Street to Saint Paul's. Bartholomew Lane, Lothbury and Threadneedle Street, in the neighbourhood of the Bank and the Royal Exchange, have been, in like manner, re-edified; and the Holborn Viaduct has been constructed. Queen Victoria Street, connecting Blackfriars Bridge with the Mansion House, has also been formed by the Metropolitan Board of Works.

are claimed by the Parochial, Clerical and Municipal authorities as their lawful prey; and, which is more remarkable, they are assessed to, and pay, Property and Income-tax. They are therefore known to the fiscal authorities of the Government as *inhabited*, whilst they are treated by the registration authorities of the Government as "*uninhabited*." They are, moreover, well known to be full of valuable property, and to be crowded with inhabitants during the active hours of the day. Every house, we have a right to contend, is occupied which has its *tenant-occupier*—whether he uses it as a dormitory, a workshop or a counting-house. Even a pig-stye, though its pig may have gone out for the night, has its tenant-occupier—as any Poor Rate collector would inform us.

The fact is, that the houses referred to are occupied or inhabited in every sense of the word; but their owners prefer to leave them at night without any person in charge, trusting to the vigilance of the City Police, and setting the risks of so doing against the cost and risks of keeping a night watchman or other servant on the premises.

It is worthy of notice that, since the establishment of the present City force, a large increase of houses, so left, has taken place, shewing the growing confidence in the protection afforded by the Municipal guardians of the peace.

There is no parallel to this fact elsewhere—that 2,000 houses (a number exceeding the whole number of houses in many of our second-class cities), mostly containing property of immense value, and which would, under other circumstances, be in the care and custody of 17,000 persons (8½ to a house), are abandoned at night to the sole charge of the passing policeman.

And the saving to the citizens by this practice is of considerable importance. Assuming that £75 per annum would be the average cost of a person of unimpeachable character left in charge—to include salary, or wages, fire and candle—the saving upon, say 2,000 houses, would be £150,000 per annum—a sum thrice the annual cost of the City Police force.

It is not necessary for us to observe that the figures of the Registrar-General are universally, and justly so, relied upon for accuracy and fairness. There appears, however, to have been an unfortunate exceptional treatment of the subject of *uninhabited houses*, as it regards the City of London. The census returns for the whole City give 2,057 of such houses; but a foot-note explains, that in the central district alone, “at least 1,200 or 1,300 houses are *occupied during the day*, but left tenantless at night, under the general surveillance of the police.”* Now, as it appears, on the authority of the census officials themselves, that the great majority of *such* houses were “*occupied*,” and that only the exceptional minority were unoccupied, it would seem to have been more in conformity with established usage, and certainly less perplexing to statisticians, if that, which appears to be the rule, had been set forth in the tables, and the exceptions had been dealt with in the foot-note. If this treatment of the subject had been adopted, there would not have been afforded so much opportunity for mis-statement, as to the increasing number of tenantless houses within the City.

We have shewn, then, under three heads, that the number

* Census Tables, 1861. Div. I., p. 204.

of houses, as stated in the census returns, does not afford reliable data as to the relative importance of the City of London to the rest of the Metropolis ; that, as it regards the number of houses of a specified value, the City stands relatively at the head of the districts of the Metropolis ; that the alleged decadence and desolation of the City are purely imaginary ; and that a great—indeed, an unprecedented—advance is taking place in all that constitutes wealth, value, and rateable position. Incidentally, we have obtained information as to the relative values of houses within the Metropolis, which we shall turn to account in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE CITY—DETERMINED BY ITS RATEABLE VALUE, AND THE MAGNITUDE OF ITS TRADE AND COMMERCE.

THE City of London stands at the head of the several districts of the Metropolis, as it regards rateable value. The rateable annual value, as settled by the Metropolitan Board of Works for the main-drainage rate for 1866, fixes its rental at £2,109,935. The rental for the whole Metropolis is £15,252,767. The rental, therefore, of the City of London is nearly *one-seventh of that of the whole Metropolis*.

The rateable value of the City of London is continually on the increase. Subsequently to 1811, the rateable value increased from £565,243 to £1,203,466 in 1856—the year of the first assessment of the Metropolitan Board of Works—being an increase of £638,223, or at the average rate of £14,182 per annum. Since 1856, we have the opportunity of shewing the annual rate of increase in relation to the Metropolis. We find that, whilst the City has increased its rental from £1,203,466 in 1856, to £2,109,935 in 1866, the whole Metropolis has only increased from £11,283,663 in 1856, to

See note, p. 43, for further increase to 1876.

£15,252,767 in 1866; and we consequently arrive at the second conclusion—that the City of London has, since 1856, increased in rateable value *in a much greater degree than the whole of the Metropolis*. For, the City has increased its rental 75·31 per cent., while the whole Metropolis, including the City, has only increased at the rate of 35·17 per cent.—the excess in favour of the City being 40·14 per cent.

If the rateable value of the City be compared with that of the Metropolis, *omitting the City*, the increase in the rateable value of the City will be more apparent. The increase in value of the whole Metropolis, between 1856 and 1866, was £3,969,104; from this deduct £906,469, the increase in the City, and the net increase in the value of the Metropolitan rental will be seen to be £3,062,635. The increase of the City to that of the rest of the Metropolis will, therefore, be as 75·31 per cent. is to 30·38 per cent.—a ratio of increase in favour of the City of 44·93 (*say 45*) *per cent. in a period of ten years*.

It should be stated, however, that several important districts of the Metropolis have not been re-assessed since the year 1865, and others, on the south of the Thames, since the year 1861. Some allowance by way of addition must therefore be made to the ratio of increase in the rateable value of the Metropolitan districts; but with all this allowance, an enormous increase in the ratio of the augmented value of the City, will be undoubtedly shewn.

It appears that, not only has a considerable increase of Rateable value taken place within the City, but testing the amount of increase at various periods, we find, further, that an *augmenting ratio* of increase is constantly taking place—as the following figures will demonstrate:—

| | City's Rateable Value. | Increase. | Period. | Ratio of Increase per cent. | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------------|------------|
| | | | | In Period. | Per Annum. |
| In the year 1771*..... | £ 457,701 | £ | Years ... | ..... | ..... |
| „ 1801*..... | 507,372 | 49,671 | 30 | 10·8 | ·36 |
| „ 1831*..... | 792,904 | 285,532 | 30 | 56·2 | 1·8 |
| „ 1861† ... | 1,279,887 | 486,983 | 30 | 61·4 | 2·0 |
| „ 1866† ... | 2,109,935 | 830,048 | 5 | 64·8 | 12·9 |

It will be seen that the increase in the first period of 30 years was at the rate of ·36 per cent. per annum; in the second period, at the rate of 1·8 per cent. per annum; in the third period, at the rate of over 2 per cent. per annum; while in the latter period of 5 years the increase is at the rate of 12·9 per cent. per annum, or nearly 65 per cent. for a period of 5 years.

This does not look like the depopulation of the City at an early date, as some have been assuming; nor does it bear out the conclusions of official blue-books as to the waning of the City in its relative importance to the Metropolis.

Had we inverted the order of our topics in this chapter, there would have been little occasion to adduce evidence of the rising value of the City's rateable property. That value is the inevitable effect of a cause to which we shall now advert—the *vastness of the Trade and Commerce of the City of London*.

* From *Second Report, Commissioners of the Municipal Corporations*, 1837, p. 176.

† Return of Metropolitan Board of Works, 19th October, 1866.

The City is to a great extent, but not at all exclusively so, a place of Trade—the market to which resort, daily and every day, some 700,000 persons—all of whom, whatever may be their object in visiting the City, contribute more or less humbly or largely to its trade, by supplying within its limits, the wants of themselves and their families as it regards many of the necessities or luxuries of life.

It is, further, the central and chief market in the Metropolis for provisions. Billingsgate purveys for all London in the matter of fish, and the vans, which now bring from the railways three-fourths of all the food of this class (formerly conveyed by water-carriage), constitute one of the most formidable hindrances to locomotion during certain hours of the day. Newgate* and Leadenhall markets are, in their way, unequalled in the supply of dead-meat, poultry, game and other requisites of the table; and the vast transactions connected with these markets contribute no inconsiderable amount to the trade of the City. Within its limits also are the only markets for Corn and Coal within the Metropolis. The statistics of these varied interests would form an interesting chapter; but they must be passed by, for, important as they are, they occupy only a subordinate place in relation to the City of London.

It is the COMMERCE of London—its traffic with foreign and distant parts, its interchange of commodities with every quarter of the globe, which makes the City what it is—the busiest, most enterprising and most wealthy emporium of either ancient or modern times.

Unaided by figures, it would be impossible to convey an

* Removed since 1866; but the much larger "Central Meat and Poultry Markets" at Smithfield supply its place.

adequate or accurate idea of the vastness to which the Commercial and Monied interests of the City have attained. As Tyre, of old, was seated at the point of confluence of the merchandise of three continents, so, upon the shores of the Thames, converge the commerce and commodities of two hemispheres; or rather we should say, upon its Northern shore, for to the City tends, and from its limits emanate, almost without exception, the Commerce of the Metropolis.

This is the *specialty* of the City of London. Its Trade is enormous, but it shares it with other districts of London; its population and rateable value, in proportion to area, are unequalled elsewhere, but all these conditions of magnitude, "pale their ineffectual fires" in the presence of the vastness of its Commercial enterprise.

A glimpse at the following tables, compiled from the published Reports of the Customs' Commissioners, will render further arguments unnecessary on this head. Great as are the commercial transactions of the other ports of the Empire, London swallows up the whole of them—tested by the amount of Customs' Duties which her Commerce contributes.

| Ports. | Amount of Customs' Duties (1864). | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| | £ | £ |
| LONDON ..... | ..... | 11,491,412 |
| LIVERPOOL | 2,893,445 | 11,006,798 |
| Other Ports in ENGLAND... | 3,239,202 | |
| Ports in SCOTLAND | 2,826,827 | |
| Ports in IRELAND..... | 2,047,324 | |
| EXCESS of London, in 1864, over all the ports of the Empire | | <u>£484,614</u> |

Receipt of CUSTOMS in the UNITED KINGDOM; LONDON
contrasted with all other Ports—1856 to 1864.

| | All Ports of the United Kingdom. | London alone. |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| | £ | £ |
| 1856..... | 24,206,844..... | 12,287,529 |
| 1857..... | 22,956,171..... | 11,465,989 |
| 1858..... | 24,155,852..... | 12,332,061 |
| 1859..... | 25,065,066..... | 12,740,242 |
| 1860..... | 23,165,764..... | 11,781,819 |
| 1861..... | 23,657,513..... | 11,905,555 |
| 1862..... | 23,993,546..... | 12,156,115 |
| 1863..... | 23,588,932..... | 11,974,397 |
| 1864..... | 22,498,211..... | 11,491,412 |
| Aggregate..... | <u>£213,287,899</u> | <u>£108,134,119</u> |
| Annual Average | <u>£23,698,655</u> | <u>£12,014,902</u> |
| Port of London, annually | | £12,014,902 |
| All other Ports, annually | | <u>11,683,753</u> |
| Average Annual EXCESS of London, over the aggregate of all the other Ports of the Empire | | <u><u>£331,149</u></u> |

The whole of the enormous Commerce which contributes the above average of £12,000,000 Customs' Duties annually, is connected locally (excepting an amount quite unappreciable) with the City of London.

That the Mercantile greatness of the City of London is not consequent upon the decay of commerce elsewhere—but that it is inherent to the growing importance of the City and port of London, will be apparent by the following table, shewing the growth of commerce at various ports of England.

The rise of PORTS in ENGLAND,* as shewn by CUSTOMS' DUTIES paid in the years 1780 and 1864 respectively.

| Ports. | 1780.† | 1864. | Increase. |
|-------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | |
| Liverpool | 59,419 | 2,893,445 | 48 fold |
| Newark | 18,966 | 335,750 | 18 fold |
| Chester | 5,123 | 67,150 | 13 fold |
| Plymouth | 13,183 | 178,738 | 13 fold |
| Boston..... | 4,541 | 36,538 | 8 fold |
| Rochester | 7,100 | 64,299 | 9 fold |
| Bristol..... | 147,834 | 1,209,690 | 8 fold |
| Ipswich | 4,177 | 31,948 | 8 fold |
| Exeter..... | 13,121 | 109,692 | 8 fold |
| Bridgewater | 991 | 6,920 | 7 fold |
| Southampton | 13,710 | 88,880 | 7 fold |
| Hull | 49,384 | 255,769 | 5 fold |
| Weymouth | 2,553 | 9,875 | 4 fold |
| Whitehaven | 16,136 | 64,188 | 4 fold |
| Colchester | 4,410 | 13,830 | 3 fold |
| Portsmouth..... | 12,584 | 23,700 | 2 fold |

The local Trade and Commerce of the City may be measured, relatively to the Metropolis, by another method.

The Income-tax returns, under Schedule D, afford an insight into the relative importance of the several districts of the Metropolis, measured by their PROFITS OF TRADE. The Metropolis—subdivided upon a different arrangement for every fiscal and other purpose—remains, as it regards the Inland Revenue, divisible into the ancient Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and the several Hundreds which surround them. By the courtesy of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue we are enabled to place the Trading profits of the City in contrast with those of the other

* The rise of Scotch and Irish ports not obtainable for the same interval.

† MSS. BRIT. MUS., presented by Sir W. Musgrave, Bart.

divisions of the Metropolis, for the year 1865—the last complete year obtainable. The following are the results—

Amount of PROFITS charged to INCOME-TAX under
Schedule D.*—1865.

| Divisions of the Metropolis. | Amounts. |
|--|--------------------|
| | £ |
| The City of London | 23,053,600 |
| The Inns of Court† | 922,828 |
| The City of Westminster | 5,273,099 |
| Southwark | 649,433 |
| Bloomsbury, Finsbury and Holborn | 4,052,915 |
| Kensington | 837,246 |
| Marylebone | 1,253,898 |
| Tower Divisions | 2,736,929 |
| Brixton, Four Divisions (including Lambeth)..... | 2,411,113 |
| Blackheath (including Greenwich)..... | 834,817 |
| Total | <u>£42,025,878</u> |
| The City of London..... | £23,053,600 |
| The rest of the Metropolis | 18,972,278 |
| Excess of profits of the City over all the rest of Metropolis | <u>£4,081,322</u> |

* This Schedule does not include dividends on public stocks and funds, nor profits of mines, railways, docks, etc. ; which are charged under other schedules.

† Chiefly within the Liberties of the City.

Another method of shewing the relative importance of the City's Trade and Commerce, consists in obtaining the amount and tonnage of the SHIPPING frequenting the port of London. In this respect, the East of London divides with the City the importance which the shipping interest confers on the Metropolis—the docks being situated in the former region, whilst the commerce, capital and enterprise which sustain and employ the shipping, belong almost exclusively to the City proper.

The annexed table of the Number and Tonnage of Ships, British and Foreign, entered inwards and outwards, in London and the other ports of England and Wales,* in the year 1865, shews London to be at the head of all other ports, as it regards the amount of its shipping interest.† (*Vide* tabular folding sheet annexed.)

We extract from that table the following list of the Tonnages of the larger Ports—*i.e.*, of Ports returning over one million tons in 1865 :—

* From Return to House of Commons, 29th May, Session 1866.

† How is it, that in the return alluded to, London is invariably placed out of the alphabetical order, which determines the places of all other ports in England and Wales? Why is it also placed at the *foot* of a list which proclaims that it stands *first* in relative importance? Has the Board of Trade become a convert to the notion, that Kensington has superseded London City as it regards amount and tonnage of its shipping? We commend the subject to Messrs. Rothschild, Crawford and Goschen, commercial members for the decayed City, in Parliament.

TIMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS (SAILING AND STEAM) ENTERED AND CLEARED AT EACH OF THE PORTS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

| | 1,007 | 90,077 | 84 | 7,102 | 304 | 21,243 | 36 | 3,701 | 1,431 | 128,183 |
|-----------------------------|---------|------------|--------|-----------|---------|------------|--------|-----------|---------|------------|
| Plymouth | 3,456 | 473,623 | 299 | 34,931 | 1,925 | 284,802 | 107 | 14,886 | 5,757 | 808,302 |
| Poole | 603 | 64,134 | 68 | 8,472 | 1,395 | 27,538 | 57 | 8,618 | 1,147 | 108,762 |
| Portsmouth | 1,245 | 142,343 | 138 | 17,784 | 626 | 29,735 | 105 | 13,922 | 2,114 | 203,784 |
| Preston | 471 | 26,075 | 10 | 853 | 498 | 28,538 | 7 | 571 | 986 | 56,337 |
| Ramsgate | 304 | 27,964 | 11 | 1,261 | 66 | 4,448 | ... | ... | 381 | 33,673 |
| Rochester | 3,145 | 346,281 | 106 | 14,041 | 1,566 | 67,105 | 103 | 12,237 | 4,860 | 439,724 |
| Runcorn | 1,539 | 102,409 | 29 | 3,828 | 3,025 | 197,100 | 73 | 8,256 | 4,666 | 311,693 |
| Rye | 488 | 38,375 | 28 | 3,522 | 54 | 3,441 | 15 | 2,540 | 585 | 47,878 |
| Scarborough | 399 | 21,887 | 12 | 864 | 25 | 1,343 | 4 | 163 | 440 | 24,257 |
| Selly | 179 | 10,659 | 2 | 224 | 168 | 9,894 | ... | ... | 349 | 20,777 |
| Shields | 1,059 | 206,108 | 462 | 69,564 | 1,730 | 284,632 | 295 | 33,983 | 3,346 | 593,307 |
| Shields S. (3 months) .. | 128 | 32,520 | 80 | 18,719 | 37 | 10,252 | 1 | 266 | 246 | 61,757 |
| Shoreham | 692 | 101,981 | 306 | 20,244 | 125 | 7,966 | 272 | 15,821 | 1,395 | 146,012 |
| Southampton | 2,609 | 534,150 | 473 | 115,371 | 1,537 | 326,393 | 435 | 108,485 | 5,114 | 1,084,369 |
| Stockton | 382 | 43,062 | 110 | 13,119 | 304 | 34,393 | 14 | 1,842 | 810 | 92,416 |
| Sunderland | 2,400 | 412,032 | 1,048 | 171,634 | 11,902 | 2,012,694 | 1,384 | 239,740 | 16,734 | 2,836,100 |
| Swansea | 4,411 | 473,433 | 914 | 113,438 | 6,979 | 724,445 | 1,266 | 183,530 | 13,570 | 1,494,836 |
| Teignmouth | 659 | 61,115 | 19 | 2,626 | 158 | 11,575 | 22 | 2,567 | 858 | 77,883 |
| Truro | 825 | 77,469 | 49 | 12,515 | 599 | 44,632 | 36 | 9,475 | 1,619 | 144,091 |
| Wells | 543 | 29,709 | 30 | 1,824 | 244 | 12,241 | 1 | 55 | 818 | 43,829 |
| Weymouth | 511 | 49,159 | 29 | 4,174 | 180 | 22,030 | 19 | 3,029 | 739 | 78,392 |
| Whitby | 617 | 30,086 | 1 | 21 | 120 | 7,680 | ... | ... | 738 | 37,787 |
| Whitehaven | 933 | 74,486 | 12 | 1,689 | 4,389 | 365,927 | 14 | 1,869 | 5,348 | 443,971 |
| Wisbeach | 597 | 44,724 | 102 | 16,847 | 247 | 16,243 | 52 | 10,658 | 908 | 88,472 |
| Woodbridge | 410 | 23,070 | 9 | 735 | 273 | 13,274 | 7 | 641 | 699 | 47,720 |
| Workington | 151 | 9,774 | ... | ... | 1,292 | 118,788 | 1 | 101 | 1,444 | 128,663 |
| Yarmouth | 1,605 | 165,052 | 116 | 14,714 | 686 | 74,829 | 82 | 8,704 | 2,489 | 263,299 |
| TOTAL, ENGLAND & WALES } | 130,543 | 20,349,595 | 20,355 | 4,069,341 | 142,132 | 21,240,225 | 21,423 | 4,358,418 | 314,453 | 50,017,489 |



| Ports. | Tons. |
|----------------------|------------|
| Port of London | 10,461,195 |
| „ Liverpool | 8,235,152 |
| „ Newcastle | 4,978,003 |
| „ Sunderland..... | 2,836,100 |
| „ Cardiff..... | 2,465,215 |
| „ Hull | 1,922,998 |
| „ Hartlepool | 1,513,934 |
| „ Swansea | 1,494,836 |
| „ Bristol..... | 1,204,248 |
| „ Southampton | 1,084,369 |
| „ Newport | 1,037,154 |

It will be observed that London occupies the highest position of any port, by over 2,200,000 tons of Shipping.

Whether, therefore, we test the relative importance of the City by its Rateable value or by its Trade and Commerce, whether we measure the latter by the amount of Customs' Duties paid, the Profits of Trade or the Tonnage of Shipping, we find the City and its interests occupying, not only the foremost place in the Metropolis, but the *highest* position in the United Kingdom.

To recapitulate.—We have shewn in the preceding chapters by a fair application of statistics :

1. That the City stands at the head of the several districts of the Metropolis, as it regards Population.

2. That it stands at the head of every other district of the Metropolis—as it regards its number of Houses—measuring them by a common and uniform standard.
3. That it is also at the head, as it regards the amount of its Taxable Rental.
4. That such Rental is equal to about one-seventh of that of the whole Metropolis.
5. That such Rental has increased in a much greater ratio than that of the rest of the Metropolis.
6. That the value of the rateable property of the City has increased—between 1811 and 1866—no less a sum than *thirty-eight millions six hundred thousand pounds!*^{*}
7. That the amount of Customs' Duties paid in the Port of London, has, for many years past, exceeded the sum paid, in the aggregate, by every other port in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.
8. That the amount of the Profits of Trade of the City exceeds, by £4,000,000 annually, those of the rest of the Metropolis.
9. And, that the amount of the Tonnage of the Shipping of the port of London far exceeds that of any other port in the Empire.

And this is the City whose population is “year by year decreasing,” and which is soon to be eclipsed by the increasing glories of Kensington—as the stars are extinguished by the rising sun. This is the City, “the population of which would, certainly, not entitle it to stand alone.”

^{*} Or, between 1811 and 1876, *no less a sum than* £62,153,450!!

It does "stand alone," notwithstanding ; and in respect of population, houses, rental, trade, commerce, shipping and relative importance, "stands alone"—second to no District of the Metropolis, to no City or Town of the Empire.

That it "stands alone" in unenviable criminal notoriety is also asserted by the highest "authority" of the Metropolitan Police—to such an extent that all its registered residents should, long ere this, have fallen victims to the knife of the assassin. Whether this be as stated, we must endeavour to ascertain in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER V.

CRIME IN THE CITY AND THE METROPOLIS—THE COST AND EFFICIENCY OF THE CITY AND METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCES.

THE City of London, as we have shewn, stands at the head of the Districts of the Metropolis as it regards population to area—it is first in respect of the number of houses of a specified rateable value—it occupies the highest position, beyond all comparison, as it regards the amount of its commerce, and is at the head also in respect of its profits of trade; its rateable value is in advance of that of any other Metropolitan district, and is progressing at a ratio greater than the increase elsewhere. The real-property value of the City has increased, as we have proved, between 1811 and 1866, *from Fourteen to Fifty-two and three-quarters millions ! **

All this would, *primâ facie*, indicate sound commercial prosperity, and suggest ample and remunerative employment for capital and labour—and the consequent diminution of temptation to crime. Especially would this be assumed to be the case, if it were shewn that, as it regards religious and moral appliances, the City stands unquestionably at the head in these respects also, when compared with the other districts of London.

* Or. between 1811 and 1876, *from Fourteen to over Seventy-six Millions !!* (*Vide* note, p. 49.)

The City—about one square mile in area—possesses the following Religious and moral advantages, which have been ascertained by actual enumeration :—

| | Churches, Chapels and Synagogues. | Officiating Clergy and Ministers. |
|--|---|---|
| The Cathedral (with which 78 officials are connected, but of whom, say, 6 are employed in the daily service) | 1 | 6 |
| Parish Churches | 70 | ... |
| Rectors, Vicars, and Incumbents | ... | 74 |
| Curates and Assistants | ... | 33 |
| Lecturers | ... | 29 |
| Chapels of various denominations and Synagogues | 33 | ... |
| Ministers, various | ... | 34 |
| Roman Catholic and Greek Priests | .. | 6 |
| Jewish Rabbis, English and Foreign | ... | 9 |
| <hr/> | | |
| Total Churches, Chapels and Synagogues | 104 | ... |
| Total officiating Clergy, Min- isters and others | ... | 191 |
| <hr/> <hr/> | | |

We find, then, within the limited area of the City, *one hundred and four* buildings, and *one hundred and ninety-one* persons exclusively devoted to religious and moral instruction; and, as we are informed and believe, that there is at least one school—National, British or Denominational—connected with each parish or place of worship, and as moreover there are four large public schools within the City—to wit, the Blue Coat, St. Paul's, the City of London and the Merchant Taylors' (containing in all 1,858 scholars)—it will not be denied that the City surpasses any district of similar area as it regards religious and educational advantages.

How are we startled then, to be informed that the City of London, under the apparently satisfactory condition which the facts above stated disclose, is nevertheless a hot-bed of crime—that its inhabitants have become so morally depraved that the figures of the Home Secretary's "Judicial Statistics" as it regards the City, being placed before an eminent ACTUARY, he is constrained to declare that every adult of the population must, on the average, have been charged with crime *at least thrice* in the course of his or her natural life.

Sir Richard Mayne, Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, in a letter addressed to Sir George Grey, confirms this lamentable state of things, and attributes it to the inefficiency of the City Police force. He tells us "Crimes in the City are upwards of 156 per cent. higher than in the Metropolitan district." Again he says, testing the matter by another method, "Crimes in the City are upwards of 208 per cent. higher than in the Metropolitan district." Again, "Crimes are in the City as 3 ; in the Metropolitan district as 1." As it regards the graver crimes—attempts to murder, and stabbing with intent, etc.,—he makes the following appalling statement, "In the City the numbers are in the ratio of 1 to 368, or 271 *per cent. of the population!*"

We could proceed further, but this must suffice for our present purpose, to shew that, upon high authority, crime of the most alarmingly flagrant character is rampant in the City—side by side with apparent prosperity, full employment of the people, remunerative Trade and Commerce, and most abundant Religious, Moral and Educational advantages.

Here we are, for the third time, involved in difficulties and perplexities which are apparently insoluble ; and we can only

extricate ourselves by assuming that the mere matter-of-fact statisticians have been at their work again; and that, as is their wont, they have pinned their faith on the assumed omnipotence of figures to solve every problem, irrespective of logical deduction, common observation and common sense.

It is discreditable to the age in which we live, to the boasted advance of education amongst us, and to the assumed intelligence of our public men, to find statements so monstrous as those which we have just quoted, made on official authority; and that, not hastily or unguardedly, but after mature reflection, and when *three years have actually passed* since their original promulgation. It is humiliating to discover that such statements have been seriously submitted to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and not only so, but entertained by them with all gravity, indorsed by their authority, submitted to the House of Commons, and printed "by Order" of that Honourable House.

The statements quoted formed part of a letter, dated June 1, 1863, which Sir Richard Mayne addressed to Sir George Grey, as Home Secretary. In the course of the summer of 1863 it found its way into the columns of the newspapers, and after a little good-natured criticism of its contents, and a few laughs over its obvious mistakes, it was not heard of until recently, when it, or rather an extract from it, appeared within the protecting blue covers of the Second Report of the Select Committee on "Metropolitan Local Government and Taxation"—a Committee presided over by a gentleman, usually so well informed as the Hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets.

It made its re-appearance in this wise:—Mr. Edwin

Chadwick being under examination before the Committee above alluded to, on the general subject of Metropolitan Administration and Taxation, expressed an opinion very unfavourable to the efficiency and economy of the City Police Force ; and in reply to the Question (No. 6,596) " Do you state your opinion from any statistics which you have obtained upon the subject ? " he said, " There was a very decided statement made by Sir Richaad Mayne which exhibited statistics on the subject ; and I know, if Sir Richard Mayne gives statistics, that I can rely upon them. " He then handed in the extract of Sir Richard Mayne's letter, to which we have referred, and thus unkindly and officiously unearthed the allegations, which hitherto the good sense of the late Home Secretary had permitted to remain within the innermost recesses of his department.

The indirect and circumlocutory manner in which evidence so serious was introduced to the Committee is very remarkable, and we hope unusual. We should have supposed that testimony, as to the cost and efficiency of the Police, would have been sought at the mouth of a person possessing some little experience gathered in connection with a similar force ; or, at all events, that matters so serious as to involve a charge against every inhabitant of the City of having been guilty of the gravest crimes known to the law, would have been obtained from a witness in some way *personally* acquainted with the facts spoken of—or resident within or familiar with the City—or connected, in some respects, with its Courts of Criminal Judicature, its prisons, or its scaffold. But no ! A trifling matter of a few thousand attempts to murder, within the twelve months, is not of sufficient importance to require direct personal testimony or individual cognizance of the facts. It is spoken of by the witness, evidently to his own perfect

satisfaction, and, apparently, to the satisfaction of the Select Committee. "*I know*," says the witness, "that crime is greater and detection less frequent in the City than in the rest of the Metropolis." "*I know* if Sir Richard gives statistics, that I can rely upon them ;" but why all this indirect evidence as to what is known about another's credibility? It reminds us of—

" I know a man, who knows another,
Who knew the very party's brother ;"

for, when pressed for the source of his knowledge, the witness fell back upon something which he must have cut from a newspaper, and which once, in an unguarded moment, Sir Richard Mayne had addressed to Sir George Grey. There was obtained from the witness no evidence of any personal knowledge whatever as to the very grave, scandalous—and we may add libellous—charges which were submitted to the Select Committee.

It would thus appear that Sir Richard Mayne has been unkindly used in this respect. His letter, written in 1863, under circumstances of haste and excitement, was seen upon calmer reflection, to be unsuited for publication ; and he is now placed in an unfavourable position by its resuscitation, uncorrected and unrevised, through the officious intervention of Mr. Edwin Chadwick—a gentleman entirely unconnected with the Police organization.

It is difficult to imagine that Sir George Grey, who kept the letter, all these years, in his bureau, and his Under-Secretaries who sat on the Select Committee, were unaware of its contents ; and we should rather assume that they had agreed to suppress it as a document which it was inexpedient to

publish ; if we concluded otherwise, we should convict them of grave dereliction of duty. For, if the statements contained in the letter, and which we have quoted, were well founded, any officer of the Crown charged with the maintenance and vindication of law and order, and with the protection of life, would most seriously compromise himself by concealing, for so long a period, so frightful a state of crime as that which was asserted in 1863 to exist in the very heart of the Queen's dominions—a condition of criminality so frightful, if correctly stated, that long ere this, the whole registered population of the City must have perished either by the hand of the assassin or by that of the hangman.

We are compelled therefore to conclude that the late Secretary of State for the Home Department suppressed the letter in question, and that Sir Richard Mayne concurred with him in the propriety of thus putting out of sight an unfortunate and untimely production, that the “concealment of birth” was intended kindly, and may be considered, upon the whole, judicious.

It is under the circumstances of the unfortunate re-appearance of the document, indorsed as it has been by the authority of the House of Commons, that we are called upon to devote a chapter to the subject of Crime and Police in the Metropolis and the City of London : it having formed no part of our original intention to have touched upon those topics in connection with our statistical expositions.

The difficult task now devolves upon us to deal with the intricacies of a subject which, fairly treated, is plain and simple enough ; but which has been rendered difficult to handle on account of the multitude of the mistakes and of the magni-

tude of the fallacies which have been imported into its consideration.

Before proceeding to deal with the allegations of the letter alluded to, it should be stated that it does not appear in the Report of the Select Committee on Metropolitan Local Government and Taxation, in the usual shape of a letter, with the signature of the writer attached; nor is the letter entire as originally written—the earlier paragraphs, as well as the whole of the Schedules A to F, and the Appendices I. to V. being omitted.

The document is headed, “Paper handed in by Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C.B.”—“Comparative cost and results of the Metropolitan and the City Corporation Police Forces.”—“Statistical return referred to in answer to Question 6,542.”

“Extract from a Letter by Sir Richard Mayne to Sir George Grey.”

The following are the paragraphs omitted (the Schedules A to F, and the Appendices I. to V., also omitted, will be found in *our* Appendix):—

“SIR GEORGE GREY, G.C.B.”

“SIR,

“As the opportunity to correct erroneous statements publicly made as
“to the comparative cost and efficiency of the Metropolitan Police and the
“Police of the City of London has not been afforded by the discussion in
“Parliament of the Bill for the proposed union of the City and Metropolitan
“Police, I deem it my duty to make the truth known from the official
“returns which I shall now lay before you.

“I had occasion lately to call your attention to an error in the last
“volume of the ‘Judicial Statistics,’ presented to Parliament for the year
“1861, as to the average annual cost per man of the Metropolitan and City
“Police Force, which was stated to be £78 3s. 2d. in the Metropolitan, and
“£79 4s. 7d. in the City Police, making the difference only £1 1s. 5d. These
“results were obtained by dividing the total expenditure of the respective

"establishments by the number of the police of each force, but in the accounts of the expenditure of the Metropolitan Police Establishment, there are several sums of very large amount which do not relate to the cost of the police constable, and there are none similar in the City Police accounts, on which the calculation was made with regard to the City force ; the error will be corrected in the forthcoming volume of 'Judicial Statistics.

"The return annexed (A) states the several heads of expenditure which ought not to be included, and the return (B) gives the total expenditure under all the heads which ought to be included in calculating the cost per man of the Metropolitan Police Force. The return (C) gives the total expenditure under corresponding heads in the City Police accounts."

Comment upon these omissions might have been spared us (we rather think their subject matter is reiterated in considerable detail subsequently), but that in the opening paragraph Sir Richard Mayne most clearly and most creditably avows as his motive in writing the letter, the discharge of his duty in making "the truth known" from the official sources at his command. A public servant could not be actuated by a nobler motive, and, however feebly he may have discharged this duty, and however imperfectly he may have applied statistical principles to the promulgation of official truth, he cannot but rejoice at our humbler effort towards making the truth he loves better known by our correction of some of the mistakes which, probably in the hurry of business, had escaped him ; and some of the conclusions to which he had been led by mere inadvertence.

The correction of the "error" in "Judicial Statistics," adverted to by Sir Richard, is of sufficient importance to be hereafter dealt with and fully quoted. We proceed, therefore, to our examination of that portion of the letter presented to public notice by Mr. Chadwick and the Commons' Committee of 1866.

In order to the full and fair examination of this important document, it is proposed to reprint it, paragraph by paragraph, using the marginal notes of the letter as headings, and dealing with the subject matter of each paragraph seriatim. It should be observed that the comparison is based, by Sir Richard, upon the expenditure and other particulars of the Police for the year 1861.

Paragraph I.—“*Cost per Man of the City and Metropolitan Police Force.*”

“The expenditure for the Metropolitan Police, amounting to £400,389, divided by 6,116, the number of the Metropolitan Police Force in the Metropolitan divisions, exclusive of those employed in the Dockyard and War Department Stations, gives an annual cost of £65 9s. 3d. for each man; and the expenditure for the City Police, amounting to £48,172, divided by 608, the number of the City Police, gives an annual cost for each man of £79 4s. 7d. The cost of each man is, therefore, £13 5s. 4d., or 21 per cent. higher in the City Police. The difference of cost thus shewn, arises partly from the higher rate of pay, and cost of clothing, equipments, etc., amounting to £7 5s. 7d. per man, and the remainder is from the greater expense of the establishment for the management of the City Police.”

The basis of this calculation is difficult to verify. The official volume of “Judicial Statistics”* for 1861, states (page 2) the “total costs” of the Metropolitan Police Establishment at £481,302 11s. 9d., and the total number of the Police Force (exclusive of those employed in the Dockyard and War Department stations, namely, 663) at 6,158. These figures of the Home Secretary differ from those of Sir Richard Mayne; for the one return is based upon the account of the year ending at Michaelmas, and the other upon the year ending 31st December, 1861. To this, we presume, must be attributed the difference of £8,355 7s. 6d., which appears upon

* The official criminal statistics, published annually by the Secretary.

deduction of the items amounting to £72,558 2s. 1d. (of which hereafter) from the cost stated in "Judicial Statistics"—which sum the Chief Commissioner claims to abate, so as to bring down the "total cost" to £400,389 2s. 3d. There yet remains a discrepant sum of £70 7s., for the total items in Table B of Sir R. Mayne's letter, amount, rightly cast, to the sum of £400,459 9s. 3d.

Having, for argument's sake, given the Chief Commissioner credit for all he claims to have a right to deduct from the "total cost" of his Police Establishment, we now inquire—why he should deduct *any* portion of the expenses from the total cost? He does not deny the expenditure of all the money, or that it was expended upon his Police Establishment; and if we deal alike with both Forces, what claim can justly be urged by either, without denying the figures or the facts, to reduce the total costs by any sum, under any pretence whatever.

It will be understood that the question at issue is not the proper expenditure of the public money, but whether it *was* expended as officially stated. The Schedule A, before referred to, enumerates items which "should be excluded in estimating the cost *per man* of the Metropolitan Police Force." This is a poor evasion of the fact in dispute. Concede for a moment all that is asked: the question remains—should *any one* of the items in the schedule be excluded in estimating the total cost of the Metropolitan Police *Establishment*? The question raised by the Commissioner is not one of opinion, or of taste, as regards matter of account, but one of *fact*. What was the actual amount expended on the Metropolitan Force for the year 1861, and what did it amount to per man of that Force, as charged to the ratepayers?

The deductions claimed are seven in number ; of four of these—viz :

| | |
|---|-------------|
| “ Medical attendance and medicines for destitute prisoners ” | £1,099 17 0 |
| “ Refreshments for destitute prisoners, and other small contingencies ” | 1,323 19 10 |
| “ Extraordinary expenses incurred in the pursuit, apprehension and conveyance of prisoners ” | 3,415 5 0 |
| “ Expenses and allowances on special occasions, and on duties out of the district ” (not reimbursed to the Force) | 805 19 9 |

—it has only to be said, that these contingencies are as applicable to one Force as to the other, and the like expenses are incurred by the City Force, although the items may not be separately stated. Is it to be contended that destitute prisoners are left in the City to perish for want of food or medical attendance? Are the “small contingencies,” which we find include “searching female prisoners, candles for stations, sawdust and straw for cells, washing towels,”* never incurred at the City stations? Are criminals never pursued and brought to justice by the City Police?

The total amount of these items is £6,645 1s. 7d.

The fifth item is—

“Horses, forage, saddlery, etc., and vans, £8,491 15s. 6d.”

The City Force has no such charge, not having occasion for mounted police ; nor would the Metropolitan Force need horses if the ground were adequately covered with a foot

* Sir Richard Mayne's Return to House of Commons, 1861, p. 7.

police ; but because of the insufficiency of their body to the extent of the area to be covered, it is considered economical to enable a few policemen to be stationed at places distant from each other, by mounting a certain number of them ; thus the cost of horses economises the cost of enlisting and paying an increased number of men. If the cost of horses, therefore, be omitted, then the pay of the men should, for purposes of comparison, be proportionably increased.

The sixth item is—

“Erection and purchase of premises, £15,179 2s. 2d.”

The premises necessary to each Force must either be purchased, erected, or rented. In each case the outlay is incurred ; and in neither case can the debit in account be evaded. Observe also, that if Sir Richard is to deduct £15,179 in 1861, for “purchase and erection,” then he should add the “rent” to this and every succeeding account—which he has not done.

The seventh item runs thus—

“Deficiency of Police superannuation fund, £42,242 2s. 10d.”

This means that there has been bad management or false economy somewhere. The stoppages from wages may have been insufficient, or the wages themselves so barely sufficient “for dear life,” as to make an adequate provision for superannuation impossible. Or, the financial administration of the Force may have been unwise. But these, or any other imaginable excuses are worthless as reasons why money expended for the Police Establishment of the Metropolitan District should be excluded from its “total cost ;” and the objection that, although part of the total cost, these amounts ought to

be excluded from consideration in ascertaining the cost per man, is really childish. The "cost per man" is only used as a common denomination whereby we may be enabled to solve the problem of relative economy or relative extravagance.

Having shewn that the deductions claimed by Sir Richard, amounting to £72,558 2s. 1d., are illusory, we now point out that he has omitted from his "total cost," £1,171 13s. 11d., the "amount of retired allowances to persons formerly in his and the Receivers' department."* If it should be said that this item is paid directly by the Treasury, the answer is that it is the *cost* and not the sources of payment which we are discussing. It cannot be contended that this sum forms no part of the Metropolitan Police expenditure; for, retiring allowances are granted in consideration of services performed; and, if not given, the salaries of the Establishment would be higher in proportion.

The above sum of £1,171 13s. 11d. being added to the total cost—£472,947 4s. 4d. †—gives the true total of £474,118 18s. 3d.

And now, a few words as to the numerical strength of the Metropolitan Police Force. The "Judicial Statistics" give it for the last eight years, thus :—

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1858 | 1859 | 1860 | 1861 | 1862 | 1863 | 1864 | 1865 |
| 6,295 | 6,296 | 6,289 | 6,158 | 6,566 | 6,590 | 6,682 | 6,784 |

Sir Richard, however, gives the strength in 1861 at 6,116, which figure we accept, having no means of testing the same.

* Sir Richard Mayne's Return to House of Commons, 1861, p. 7.

† Sir Richard Mayne's Letter, Table B, £400,389 2s. 3d. + £72,558 2s. 1d., as above, = £472,947 4s. 4d.

The City strength in Police, according to "Judicial Statistics," was, in the year 1861, 628 men; but in the paragraph under review, they are stated as 608.

Having corrected the figures used as a basis of calculation, we proceed.

The money *actually* disbursed (£474,118 18s. 3d.) divided by the alleged strength of the Establishment (6,116) gives us an expenditure for the Metropolitan Police in 1861 at the rate of £77 10s. 5d. per member of that Force. Sir Richard evidently thinks this too much (not that it is so in fact, but that it looks so), and commences that manipulation of figures which brings the *actual* cost of £77 10s. 5d. down to his *hypothetical* cost of £65 9s. 3d. per man.

As to the cost of the City Police Force, the total amount in 1861, was not, as stated by Sir Richard Mayne, £48,172, but £49,081 16s. 3d.* From which should be deducted £78 4s. 3d. for pensions to watchmen of the old Force. This gives the total cost of the City Police for 1861 of £49,003 12s. It is true that, of this sum, £600 was expended upon establishing Telegraphic communication between the different police stations; but it was no less, on that account, an item in the "total cost" of that year's police expenditure, and should not be claimed as a deduction. The strength of the Force was 628, and dividing the corrected total cost by that number, will give as the cost per man of the City Police, £78 0s. 7d., or at the rate of 10s. 2d., per man, over the total cost per man of the Metropolitan Police.

* City's printed Accounts, 1861, p. 51.

It is singular, however, that if the £600 for telegraph wires were deducted from the total cost, the advantage would then be *with the City*, in contrast with the Metropolis, as to the total cost per man, to the extent of 8s. 11d. per man for the year. The authorities in the City may however resign themselves complacently to the charge of extravagance to the extent of 10s. 2d. per constable, per annum, it being matter of notoriety that the City Police are, and always have been, better paid (for they are picked men) than those of the Metropolitan Force.

Paragraph II.—“*Additional Cost to City.*”

“The additional cost thus caused to the City on the whole number of the City Police amounts to £8,370 a-year more than it would be if the pay, expenses and management were according to the Metropolitan scale. The additional cost to the Metropolitan District on the whole number of the Metropolitan Police, if the pay, expenses and management were according to the City scale, would be £84,196 a-year more than it now is, which sum may therefore be considered as so much saved by the more economical administration of the Metropolitan Establishment.”

The additional cost produced by miscalculation, working upon an unsound basis, is a mere myth—to which further allusion is needless. “Economical administration” may better be argued upon other grounds, as we shall shew presently.

Paragraph III.—“*The Cost per Head of the Population.*”

“The cost of the maintenance of the Police, considered as a tax per head of the whole population of each district, is, in the Metropolitan District, 2s. 10d., and in the City 8s. 4d., or 194 per cent. higher in the City.”

This is a fallacy. It is as if Sir Richard had said, “The

cost of the City Police should be divided among the 113,387 people who sleep there, and not among the 283,000 day-residents—still less among the 700,000 people who daily throng its thoroughfares for business purposes or for amusement—for the opportunity of plunder or the chance of being plundered.” Does the Chief Commissioner really believe that the *sole* duty of the City Police is to protect and watch over its sleeping population? Do they discharge no duty during the hours of the day, and does he think that any other sane man entertains such opinions? Is he not aware that a large proportion of the Force is *exclusively* occupied in regulating the street traffic which this “army” of 700,000 people imposes? If not, we beg to inform him that 81 men are *wholly* detailed to the duty of maintaining the flow of traffic through the streets of the City. Does he not imagine that the many thousands who leave their commercial houses every evening to return to them every morning—who are rated occupiers and registered electors of the City—are to be considered as parties to the question, now first raised, whether, because, on a given night, the sleeping population of the City numbered 113,387, that number is to be made the test of Police cost and efficiency? He is far too sensible a man to contend for a single moment; and he cannot fail to perceive and admit that he has made his calculations respecting the City of London on untenable *data*, and that the result is a palpable fallacy. Without claiming the daily population of three-quarters of a million (all of whom, nevertheless, are to be cared for, whether protected or suspected, by the City Police Force), we assert the 283,520 daily residents to be the *minimum* population among whom the sole cost of the City Police Establishment has to be divided; and in the apportionment to each of these of their equal share in the total cost

of £49,003 12s., that share will be 3s. 1½d. instead of 8s. 4d. *per head*, as stated in the above paragraph.

Now, the population of the City and Metropolitan Police Districts being shewn in "Judicial Statistics" to be 3,221,419, the deduction of the City day-population of 283,520 will give us, as that of the Metropolitan Police District 2,937,899; which divided into the total cost of its Police Establishment (£474,118 18s. 3d.) will give 3s. 2¾d. per head of the population—a result shewing the City to be *less* expensively policed than the Metropolitan District by 1½d. per head per annum.

But, appealing to the conscientiousness of Sir Richard Mayne, we ask—whether we should greatly sin against justice and reason if we called the population of the City of London, *for Police purposes*, half-a-million (there are in the City in the course of the day 842,373 persons), and, consequently, the expense per head in the City will be only 1s. 11¼d. against the 3s. 2¾d. Police head-money of the population of the Metropolitan Police district; or 1s. 3¼d. per head, equal to 38 per cent. in favour of the City.

Paragraph IV.—"*The Cost per House.*"

"The cost as a tax for each house, inhabited and uninhabited, is, in the Metropolitan District, 19s. 0½d., in the City, £3 2s. 10d., or more than 200 per cent. higher in the City."

To humour the Chief Commissioners, we follow his fallacy from men to houses. We could better have done so if he had informed us what "a house" means. May it not depend upon where situate? And must not the *fiscal* result depend upon the relative value of houses?

But, taking his calculations and their results for granted, is it not manifest that £3 2s. 10d. will be less burdensome to the occupier of a City house of the average rental of £136 than 19s. 0½d. will be to the occupier of a house at Bethnal Green, averaging a rental of £13 per annum? * The Police charge of £3 2s. 10d. on the rental of the former is but 2¼ per cent., whilst a charge of 19s. 0½d. on the rental of the latter is over 7 per cent. Admit the charge for Police to be 200 per cent. higher on a house in the City than on one in Bethnal Green—the average rental of the former over the latter is *more than five times two hundred per cent.!* Where then is the analogy? Another important question arises here:—How many houses are there in the City? He states them, in a marginal note to his letter, at 13,218, in 1861. In his Appendix he tells us, “The City Police has to watch 14,794 houses, inhabited and uninhabited.” The Registrar-General gives us, in the Census for 1861—inhabited houses 13,431; inhabited and uninhabited, 15,488. In the marginal note before referred to, the Chief Commissioner informs us that the houses in the Metropolitan District, in 1861, were 360,089; whilst in his Appendix he states, “The Metropolitan Police has to watch 461,845 inhabited and uninhabited houses”—*a difference of more than a hundred thousand houses!*

It is alike useless and impracticable to pursue the cost-per-house fallacy further than to remark that, as the houses of the City of London, by their relative value,† are more than

* That these are the rentals of houses respectively in the City and in Bethnal Green, see p. 46.

† See Table of “Relative number of Houses,” in Chap. III., p. 47.

ten-fold the highest number credited to the City by Sir R. Mayne, his allegation that the police ratio per house in the Metropolitan District is 19s. 0½d., may be the more readily conceded, since the ratio of cost in the City—being but a tenth of the result stated by him—would be only 6s. 3d. per house.

Paragraph V.—(*No Marginal Note.*)

“The cost of the Police, whether considered as a tax on the population or houses, being, as thus shewn, so much higher in the City, it was asserted that the inhabitants of the City pay the higher rates for the greater security of person and property afforded them.”

The conclusion in the former portion of this paragraph is so qualified by the words “as thus shewn,” and the fallacies of his postulates and the inaccuracy of his figures have been made so manifest, that we have only to deal with the alleged assertion that the City pays higher Police rates, and for a certain purpose.

But we cannot leave the question of cost without observing, in passing, that although not a very important mistake on the part of Sir Richard to state (in Appendix D) that the City Police rate in 1861, was at 6d., when, in fact, it was only 5½d.—which may be attributable to mere inadvertence, it is more important to notice, as requiring explanation, that, in the official volume of “Judicial Statistics” for the year 1865 (the last published), there should be *no entry whatever* of the usual contribution by the Treasury to the Metropolitan Police Force.

We need not here question whether "the inhabitants of the City pay the higher rates"—it is wholly immaterial to the issue—but some one appears to have asserted, and we believe him to have been fully justified in the assertion, that (if it be so) they pay such higher rates "for the greater security of person and property afforded them."

It will be seen by the next and subsequent paragraphs in Sir Richard's letter, that he accepts this issue and undertakes to answer the assertion. The matter in dispute is thus brought within very narrow limits; and we shall submit to the test of the official statistics of Metropolitan crime the question of the relative efficiency of the two Forces.

But after all said, it is very fallacious to test the value of anything merely by its pecuniary cost. *Efficiency* is, and must be with every thinking man, the *real* test of value. A cheap police force may be the dearest—on the principle of cheap and worthless. We have followed Sir Richard into the money argument reluctantly, but the rectification of figures demanded that we should do so. It is, in truth, of little consequence to the citizens if they obtain what they require—efficient protection to person and property—whether they pay a little more to obtain it. Protection they must have, let it cost what it may. And that cost concerns no one else. Besides, the citizens pay cheerfully their quota of the cost of the Metropolitan Police, but they claim in return, no contribution directly or indirectly from the Metropolitan rate-payers, whether by rate or Treasury grant; although, as we shall see presently, *over three criminals out of four* come to the City out of the surrounding districts. It is therefore somewhat unreasonable, not to say impertinent, for the Commissioner of

another Force to object that a few shillings per head per annum are disbursed by the citizens, through their representatives, for the purpose of obtaining what they feel they require. As men of business and employers of labour, they know by experience, that efficiency at £80 is infinitely cheaper than an indifferent article at any price. We have already alluded to the fact, unparalleled elsewhere—that there are within the City, 2,000 houses containing property of immense value, left every night in the sole charge of the Police; and we have estimated that the citizens save, in this matter alone, some £150,000 annually by reason of the confidence which they repose in the City Force. And who should be the judges in this respect but themselves? It is, in truth, to them a matter of absolute indifference whether the Force, be chargeable upon the rates 1½d. or even 3s. per head per annum, more or less than elsewhere, if they obtain from the Force that which they have a right to expect.

We proceed therefore with that portion of the letter which deals with the really important question of the EFFICIENCY of the two Forces.

Paragraph VI.—“*Comparison of Crimes in the City and Metropolitan Districts.*”

“In answer to the assertion that there is a greater security of person and property in the City, I have to refer to the Criminal Returns in the latest volume of the ‘Judicial Statistics,’ presented to Parliament for the year 1861: it is there shewn that the number of crimes committed in the year was—in the City, 1,029; in the Metropolitan District, 11,203.

"The area of the City is a little more than 1 square mile; the population, 111,784 persons, and the number of houses inhabited and uninhabited, 1,479.

"The area of the Metropolitan District is 571 square miles; the population, 3,110,684 persons; the number of houses inhabited and uninhabited, 461,848."

We must make a few corrections in the figures quoted before proceeding to point out the fallacious argument based upon them.

The population of the City is erroneously stated at 111,784. The number given in "Judicial Statistics," is 112,247. The number of houses in the City must be a blunder of the printer [1,479 must mean 14,794]; but the census of 1861 gives them at 15,488. The population of the Metropolitan District is, not 3,110,684, but 3,109,172 [see page 2 of "Judicial Statistics," 1861]; and the houses in that District are given in this document at (as above) **461,848**; in Appendix III., at **618,445**, and, in the marginal table, at **360,089!!** To emerge from this statistical labyrinth, let us see how the data may be sought to be made available, and what may be, to use Sir Richard's words, "*thus shewn.*"

It is a grievous fallacy—nay, it is a poor quibble—to affect to test the comparative "security of person and property in the City" by reference to *one* of the *two* returns given in "Judicial Statistics." "Crimes" and "offences" against person and property are there recorded under the two heads, "Indictable Offences" (Table V.) and "Offences determined Summarily" (Table VI.). The Chief Commissioner proposes to restrict his case to the former of these returns, and for the *one year*, 1861, when he might have given us the fairer criterion of *an eight years' aggregate and average*. But shall be met upon the ground of his own selection

primarily, upon the condition that he will afterwards favour us with his considerate attention whilst we enlarge the scope of the inquiry and adduce evidence for its fuller elucidation.

Paragraph VII.—“*Ratio of Crime to Population.*”

“The proportion of crimes to population (Table F annexed) is—in the City, 1 crime to 108 persons; in the Metropolitan District, 1 crime to 277 persons. In this relation crimes in the City are upwards of 156 per cent. higher than in the Metropolitan District.”

To ascertain the population in the City fairly chargeable with the crime committed, is a work which it is impossible to perform with anything approaching precision or judicial accuracy. The attempt to determine the proportion of crime in the City—measuring it by population—is a course which we should never have made had not the task been imposed upon us in our endeavour to follow Sir Richard Mayne. To attempt an analysis of the character of the populations of Epsom, Ascot, or Newmarket, by imputing to the residents of those towns all the crime committed by the imported visitors to the races, and to adopt that ratio as the standard of criminality, would be hardly so gross a perversion of statistics as to charge the 113,387 registered residents of the City and Liberties with the crime committed, not only by them, but also by the fluctuating daily population numbering—sooner or later during the 24 hours—some 728,000 persons.

We almost feel that some apology is due to the scientific inquirer for our attempt in this direction. He must, however, do us the justice to bear in mind that we did not set the example in this respect.

An arithmetical calculation of crimes based upon a hypothetical population, is not likely to give an accurate result. Sir Richard assumes a City population of sleepers ; or, in other words, that all the crimes committed within the City are chargeable to the sleeping population of 113,387 persons, and that to these—and these only—is the attention of the 628 City policemen to be devoted. This is the absurd hypothesis upon which all his calculations are based. It must carry his argument to this ludicrous extent—that the 170,133 persons engaged commercially, day by day, at their places of business, and the other persons who daily migrate to the City, forming a total of 728,986 human beings, of average honesty and morality, *never commit any criminal act!* On such data he may make his sum total of crime and criminals whatever he may desire to make it ; but the system of arithmetic preferred and adopted by the Chief Commissioner will not satisfy commercial men, or indeed any men of ordinary common sense.

The following figures, the result of the investigation of over 9,600 charge sheets, have been furnished under the hand of Mr. Oke, the Chief Clerk to the Justice Room, at the Mansion House.*

RETURN of the RESIDENCES of persons proceeded against, on Indictment and Summarily, in the year ending Sept. 29, 1864, as appearing in the "Judicial Statistics," 1864, distinguishing the number of those residing IN and OUT of the CITY OF LONDON.

* The "Judicial Statistics" for 1864 were the last published when this investigation commenced.

| CRIMINALS AND OFFENDERS. | Residing in City. | Residing out of City. | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|--|---------|-------|--------|------------|--------|
| | | Middlesex. | Surrey. | Kent. | Essex. | Elsewhere. | TOTAL. |
| Persons proceeded against on In- dictment 717 | 163 | 308 | 82 | 10 | 6 | 45 | 554 |
| Persons proceeded against Sum- marily 8,924 | 2,183 | 4,514 | 1,151 | 63 | 33 | 70 | 6,741 |
| Grand Total 9,641 | | 5,222 | 1,233 | 73 | 39 | 115 | 613 |
| Total residing <i>in</i> the City 2,346 | | Total residing <i>out of</i> City..... 7,295 | | | | | |

From the above we learn the important fact for which we are contending, that it is *not* the registered residents of the City who should be charged with all the crimes and offences committed. For, of 9,641 crimes and offences committed in the City, only 2,346 were committed by *residents*, and the remainder, viz., 7,295, by *non-residents*. We thus obtain the proportion of 1 to 4.1 (say 1 to 4), as that of the crimes and offences committed by the residents of the City, to those committed by the whole number.

The day residents of the City are 283,520 persons, of whom considerably more than the average are *adults*. The daily frequenters are 728,986, the great majority of whom are *adult males*. These figures therefore represent, as it regards commission of crime, very much more than their mere numerical significance; as they are exclusive of children, who are enumerated as within the Metropolitan district. Of the 728,986 daily frequenters, it may be contended that they are

common to both the City and Metropolitan Districts; and we are therefore disposed to accept one half of that number, or 364,493, in addition to the 283,520, making 648,013 as, *at least for purposes of crime*, the equitable population of the City of London.

The Table F, annexed to the letter of Sir Richard Mayne, correctly quotes from "Judicial Statistics," 1861, the number of charges for Indictable offences preferred in the Metropolitan District at 11,203, and those in the City of London at 1,029. Let us therefore alter Sir Richard's results by the substitution of the amended population of the City thus:—Dividing the City population by the number of criminal charges at the City police courts (1,029), there will be 1 person charged with crime in every 629 of the population of the City of London.

The registered population of the Metropolitan Police Districts augmented by that of the City, being 3,221,419, must now be reduced (as even a thief cannot be in two places or both districts at once) by the deduction of the amended population of the City, which will give us, for Police purposes, 2,573,406 as the amended population of the Metropolitan Police District; and if we divide that number by the 11,203 Metropolitan crimes, we shall have, as the result, 1 crime to every 229 individuals.

We have "thus shewn" that crime in the City is as 1 to 629, and crime in the Metropolis as 1 to 229 of their respective populations—a somewhat different result from that obtained by Sir Richard Mayne.

Paragraph VIII.—"*Ratio of Crime to Houses.*"

"The proportion of crimes to inhabited houses is—in the City, 1 crime to 12 houses; in the Metropolitan District, 1 crime to 37 houses. In this relation crimes in the City are upwards of 208 per cent. higher than in the Metropolitan District."

The *house* fallacy is but one degree less in its unreasonableness than the *population* fallacy. The houses within the City of London are 15,488; but because many of those houses paying a higher average rent, and higher average rates than the houses of any other parish or district in the kingdom, are consigned to the protection of the Police, Sir Richard holds that, as they are not dormitories, they are therefore not houses. And by this process of reasoning it is sought to make "the truth known," that in the City of London there are fewer houses than rated tenements; that therefore crime in the City increases in the proportion to the confidence of the owners of property in the efficiency of the Police. To follow the tangled thread of such an argument were a waste of time. There is a connection between *men* and *criminals*, if we can but ascertain the number of men who furnish the criminals; but, be the houses many or few, be they palaces or hovels, we despair of ascertaining the number of criminals by that of the habitations of the citizens of London.

Given, that there were numerous offences perpetrated at Epsom on the Derby day of 1861. Ascertain the number of houses inhabited and uninhabited on the Downs upon that occasion. Required, upon these *data*, the number of criminals. And when the Chief Commissioner shall have "made the truth known" by his solution of this problem, we will endeavour to assist him in ascertaining the relation which the crimes committed by the greater crowd of visitors who frequent the City

daily, bear to the number of "houses" in the City and in the Metropolis. It may be desirable also to ascertain what relation the policemen, who are exclusively employed in facilitating the passage of the flood of traffic, pedestrian and vehicular, pouring through the crowded streets of the City daily, bear to the number of houses therein. No fewer than 81 men of the Force are employed constantly for the *exclusive* purpose of facilitating this street traffic; what possible relation can these constables bear to *houses*? There would be some reason and logic involved in ascertaining their relation to *horses*, to *cabs*, or to *omnibuses*; but it is utterly fallacious to measure their efficiency, or the amount of crime they detect, by the brick-and-mortar standard suggested.

But, to humour the Commissioner, we will bring the matter to the test of figures. We have shewn that more than three out of four of the criminals of the City belong to the surrounding districts. To obtain, then, the elements of this calculation, we ought to reduce the crime in the City by three-fourths before dividing it by the number of houses, or we should increase the number of houses—if houses are to be the test—in the like proportion. By either method, the result would tell unfavourably to Sir Richard's police district. To compare, however, a building of suites of offices and counting-houses, swarming with clerks and employés, with almost unlimited opportunities for fraud, forgery, and embezzlement, with an ordinary suburban dwelling—without making due allowance for the difference, would be grossly fallacious. Again, referring to our Table of Relative Values of Houses,* we see that measuring houses by the only standard

* See Chapter III.

within our reach, a house in the City is equal to three and a-half average houses. The proportion of one-fourth of City crimes to houses, therefore, will be, 1 crime to 126 instead of 1 to 12 houses, as stated by the Commissioner; and as he says, that crime in the Metropolis is as 1 to 37—which we do not care to dispute—the proportion of crime in the City to that of crime in the Metropolis will be as 1 in 126 compared with 1 in 37, or 240 per cent. higher in the Metropolitan District than in the City.

Paragraph IX.—“*Ratio of Apprehensions, Committals and Discharges.*”

“The proportion of number of persons apprehended to number of crimes committed is—in the City, 10 apprehensions to 15 crimes; in the Metropolitan District, 10 apprehensions to 28 crimes. But since, as it will be observed presently, half the number of persons apprehended by the City Police were discharged by the Magistrates, it is necessary to compare the number of efficient apprehensions, which resulted in bringing the offenders to trial, with the amount of crime in each district.

“This ratio was—in the City, 10 efficient apprehensions to 32 crimes; in the Metropolitan District, 10 efficient apprehensions to 37 crimes. The proportion of prisoners discharged by Magistrates in respect of those apprehended—by the City Police, 1 in 2; by the Metropolitan Police, 1 in 4. If the whole value of a police were to be measured by the number of magisterial committals, in comparison with the number of police apprehensions, it would appear plain from these figures, that the number of persons improperly apprehended by the City Police is double that so apprehended by the Metropolitan Police. The Metropolitan Police are concerned with much graver classes of crimes, or they get up their evidence more satisfactorily; of the suspected and accused persons apprehended by the City Police, less than one-half of those apprehended by the Metropolitan Police, fully three-fourths are committed for trial.”

We care not to discuss (though, as will be seen presently, we do not admit) the accuracy of the statement that the proportion of apprehensions to the number of

Indictable crimes is nearly twice as high in the City as in the Metropolitan Police Districts, namely, as 28 is to 15 nearly—an admission which tells in favour of the activity of the City Force; for is it not the first duty of a constable to secure and bring before the magistrate every person who is charged with crime or offence? It will be a gross perversion of the English system and a sad approximation to the Continental system of police administration, which shall permit a class of men, uneducated in the exercise of the judicial faculty, and exposed to the temptations of venality, to decide cases upon their own responsibility. Whenever such a system shall become prevalent, the liberty of the subject, as on the Continent, will be in the hands of the power intrusted with the control of the Police. That the proportion of apprehensions in the City is not improperly high, is shewn by the figures which follow; for Sir Richard admits that the proportion of efficient convictions is also in favour of the City Police, being in the City 10 convictions to 32 criminals; in the Metropolis 10 convictions to 37 criminals. If the numbers charged be larger in the City the residuum will, as a matter of necessity, be larger after magisterial adjudication.

But here, again, *lurks a latent fallacy*. The question we are reasoning out is, *not* the magisterial question, but the relative efficiency of the two Forces of Police. There are a score of considerations which might enter into the solution of this problem, of apprehensions and committals, which are quite irrelevant to the question of Police efficiency. The apprehensions are the act of the Police; not so the committals. The latter must be tested to a great extent upon other than Police grounds. For instance, may not the City magistrates repose ss confidence in the unsupported testimony of the Police

constables? May not the professional magistrates of the Metropolis take a more strictly legal view of such testimony, and send it for the adjudication of a jury? May not some part of the result be reasonably sought in apparently trifling but really important differences in the administration of the two Forces—such as the amount of discretion allowed to individual constables as it regards the taking and disposal of charges? It is manifest that in a district, containing six Stations within the square mile, there can be less excuse for intrusting such responsibility with a private of the Force, than in a widely spread and a semi-rural area like that of a large portion of the Metropolitan District. In such a district responsibility must be intrusted to the constables, and will generally be exercised in the direction which involves least risk and trouble. May not the difference to some extent be attributable to the regulations of the two Forces as it regards allowances or rewards to the men who succeed in obtaining committals or convictions? It is more than whispered about the Criminal Court that such a system prevails and exercises some influence. If it is seriously contended that an increased proportion of charges to committals, apart from other considerations, indicates an inefficient Police, then the converse holds good—that fewer charges point to increased Police efficiency. Let us carry this argument to its supreme limits, and we shall discover its fallaciousness—the highest state of efficiency, on the argument put forward, consisting *in the absence of any charge whatever!*

The result, however, of an investigation of the whole of the facts, as stated by the Home Secretary, is that, as regards the APPREHENSIONS in the last eight years—1858-65, there were in—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| The Metropolitan Police District..... | 686,109 |
| The City of London | <u>54,575</u> |
| Making a total of | 740,684 |

The proportion of APPREHENSIONS to CRIMES CHARGED were, in respect of Indictable offences,—

In the Metropolitan Police District 38·8 per cent.

In the City of London 67·4 „

And the proportion of COMMITTALS and CONVICTIONS to Apprehensions were, for Crimes of every description,—

In the Metropolitan Police District 55·0 per cent.

In the City of London 69·7 „

The results, for what they may be worth, are favourable to the City Police; for the verification of the figures, the reader is referred to the subjoined table.

“The precise number of criminals committed for trial in the year was—
“in the City, 321; Metropolitan District, 2,997.

“Comparing the ratio of those figures to the respective populations of
“each district, it is found that such crimes are—in the City as 3; in the
“Metropolitan District, 1.”

It is singular that Sir Richard should be so very rarely in accord with the figures of “Judicial Statistics.” Here again he is at issue with the official record of the late Home Secretary. At page 10 of the volume for 1861, it will be seen that the City committals for Indictable offences were not 321, but 349; and that those for the Metropolitan District were not 2,997, but 2,990. It is, however, of more importance to point out that, dividing the corrected numbers of committals into the corrected populations of the respective districts, the result will be 1,857 and 860. Thus we have

OF EVERY I

DEPT. AND CITY POLICE DISTRICT

RESIDUATION OFFENCES IN 1902

1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907

METROPOLITAN POLICE

Crimes charged

Apprehensions

Discharged

Committed

Convicted

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| 84,350 | 85,373 | 84,551 | 87,570 | 88,000 | 722 |
| 30,404 | 30,072 | 31,731 | 31,000 | 31,000 | 304 |
| | | | | | |
| 41,052 | 40,701 | 40,820 | 40,500 | 41,000 | 27 |

CITY OF LONDON

Crimes charged

Apprehensions

Discharged

Committed

Convicted

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| 6,914 | 7,667 | 8,924 | 8,574 | 54,575 | 60 |
| 2,052 | 2,117 | 2,436 | 2,260 | 14,310 | 16 |
| | | | | | |
| 4,852 | 5,550 | 6,488 | 6,305 | 40,265 | 43 |

* In "Judic

which is the more to be regretted, because it would



for the City, 1 committal to 1,857; and for the Metropolitan Police District, 1 to 860 of the population; the proportion being—in the City, 1; in the Metropolitan District, 2. This contrasts strangely with the alleged converse result of 3 to 1 against the City of London.

Paragraph X.—“*Proportion of GRAVER Offences against Persons and Houses.*”

“With reference to the graver class of offences against persons and houses, the annexed Table E, from ‘Judicial Statistics,’ page 16, in the year 1861, shews that the following grave offences against the person namely, attempts to murder, shooting at, wounding, stabbing with intent to do bodily harm, manslaughter, and larceny from the person, the numbers were in the Metropolitan District 1,368, being in the ratio of 1 to 2,273, or 0·44 per cent. of the population. In the City the numbers are 304, being in the ratio of 1 to 368, or 271 per cent. of the population.”

With what shew of confidence does Sir Richard here denounce the gross inefficiency of the City Police Force! He is not now dealing with small transgressors, but with “the *graver classes*” of offenders. And he forms his classes of such crimes as he thinks will yield him the desired result of ratios and percentages, and enable him to attain the Hibernian climax that, in respect of these graver offences, the City criminals figure in the impossible ratio of 271 *per cent. of the population*! Nor is this a mere oversight. The same absurd figures were boastingly quoted against the City Force in the newspapers of 1863—they are to be found in the official copy of Sir Richard Mayne’s letter furnished in 1863 from the Metropolitan Police Office—they are in the “extract” produced by Mr. Chadwick before the Commons’ Committee—and we find them in the Second Report of that Committee, printed “by order of the House of Commons,” now before us. There has been plenty of time, as well as ample opportunity—

during three and a half years, for the correction of an error or the avowal of a mistake. Yet here we have this monstrous libel upon the City of London stereotyped in the Parliamentary Blue-Book—unqualified and unexplained. Nevertheless, if it answers not itself, it is unanswerable—and there we leave it.

But, of the “graver offences.” Why should Sir Richard have been at the trouble of classifying them? At page 20 of the volume before him he had to his hand, the classification, by the Home Secretary, of the crimes in the order of their graver criminality. The Class No. 1 comprises “offences against the person,” Class No. 2, “offences against property, with violence.”

The total Indictable offences against the person, in the whole Metropolis, in 1861 (“Judicial Statistics,” page 16), were 316. Of these, 15 were committed in the City, and 291 in the Metropolitan District.

The total Indictable offences against property with violence (same page of the same authority), were 460. Of these, 40 were committed in the City, and 420 in the Metropolitan District.

These two classes include all the graver offences. They present a total of 776; 65 in London proper, and 711 in London extra.

We thus ascertain that the proportion of graver crimes to population, is—

In the Metropolis, 1 to 3,337; in the City, 1 to 9,969;—instead of the alleged proportion of Sir R. Mayne—1 to 2,273, and, in the City, 1 to 368.

We have thought it only fair to take these graver offences as classified in “Judicial Statistics,” for we object

Richard making a classification of his own for this

special purpose. We demur to his thrusting the item of "larceny from the person" among his "graver offences." We cannot but think such an incongruity committed with a purpose—the smaller offence being, as an isolated item, somewhat less favourable to the City. And we object most emphatically against the Chief Commissioner's omission from his list of "graver offences" of the gravest of all crimes—MURDER. And this objection is twofold:—1. That murder is, beyond all, the gravest of crimes. 2. That the statistics of this crime are all against the Metropolitan District—to which strange circumstance some people might be inclined to attribute its omission from Sir Richard's classification. The number of murders in 1861 was 10—*ALL of which were committed in the Metropolitan Police District.* Yet, strange and unaccountable as it may appear, neither in his letter, nor in the appendices to that letter, is there a single reference to this one crime—MURDER! Does Sir Richard consider murder as a crime of a grave character? Does he not know that, resting the argument of efficiency on the number of this gravest of offences, his own Force is emphatically condemned? If not, we inform him that in the eight years—1858 to 1865—in London, 79 murders were committed; of which 3 only were in the City, and 76 in his own Police District.

The classifying of pocket-picking, or pilfering, among the graver crimes may be very ingenious in the Chief Police Commissioner—and it is quite of a piece with his omission of the crime of murder from that category; but a few figures will put the matter in a truthful and intelligible point of view. The pilferers have been annually, for the past eight years, an average of 1,351 in the Metropolitan Police District, and 295 in that of the City; 1 in 1,904 of the population in the former, and 1 in 2,196 in that of the latter.

Having disposed of this make-weight of Sir Richard, we beg to refer him to the authority of his superior officer, the then Home Secretary, for further details.

The subjoined is a list of "the graver crimes" charged by the Home Department to the Police of Centralization on the one hand, and the Police of Local Self-Government on the other—quoting, as we do, from the "Judicial Statistics" of Sir George Grey:—

FOR THE EIGHT YEARS, 1858—65.

1. Murder—

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| Metropolitan Police District..... | 76, | or 1 in 33,860 |
| City of London | 3, | or 1 in 216,004 |

2. Attempts to Murder, Wounding, etc.—

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|----------------|
| Metropolitan Police District..... | 864, | or 1 in 2,978 |
| City of London | 30, | or 1 in 21,600 |

3. Manslaughter

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Burglary | <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 4em; line-height: 1;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Metropolitan Police Dis- trict 4,521, or 1 in 569 City of Lon- don 215, or 1 in 3,014 </div> |
| Highway Robbery | |
| Procuring abortion | |
| Concealing birth ... | |
| Bestiality | |
| Rape and attempts | |
| Bigamy | |
| Child stealing | |

The percentage of ALL these "graver crimes" is therefore—Metropolitan Police District, 95·7; City of London, 4·3. Or 1 in 471, and 1 in 2,613 of their respective populations.

It is most unsatisfactory that in the cases of MURDER and SUICIDE, the returns of the Coroners of Middlesex, published in "Judicial Statistics," throw considerable doubt upon the Police Returns under the heading "Indictable Offences."

In the eight years—1858-65—the Coroners return 600 inquests resulting in verdicts of Wilful Murder *in Middlesex alone*, while the Police officials return but 79 within the same period for the whole Metropolitan District and the City of London. Can it be for this reason that the crime of murder is excluded from the category “of graver offences” in Sir Richard’s letter to the Home Secretary? Was he unable to decide precisely whether the number should be stated at 79 or considerably more than 600? Or did he find it difficult satisfactorily to account for the apparent escape of over 521 murderers from justice in the last eight years? We must decline any attempt to elucidate that which we are unable to comprehend. But this at least would appear to be revealed—that the Police guarantee for the sanctity of human life is not what it should be.

Passing from the crime of MURDER to that of SELF-MURDER, we are involved in a series of incongruities and apparent improbabilities which baffle our ingenuity to explain and to reconcile. Turning to “Judicial Statistics,” we find that the following attempts to commit suicide are duly recorded *by the Police* among the Indictable offences:—

| SUICIDE, ATTEMPTING TO COMMIT. | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| | Metropolitan Police District. | City of London. |
| 1859 | 2 | 49 |
| 1860 | 4 | 34 |
| 1861 | 1 | 43 |
| 1862 | 328 | 36 |
| 1863 | 324 | 0 |
| 1864 | 355 | 41 |
| 1865 | 342 | 27 |
| Totals..... | <u>1,356</u> | <u>230</u> |

The above table is limited to the *attempts* at suicide constituting the criminal offence. But it is curious to contrast the actual amount of criminality as evidenced by the verdicts of Coroners' Juries with that recorded in the Tables of Crime.

And we think it may be as well to subjoin the following account of suicides and attempts at suicide from two distinct pages of the authorized record of the criminal statistics of the Metropolis :—

| | County of Middlesex and Southwark. | | City of London. | | Total Suicides and Attempted Suicides in Seven Years.* | |
|------|--|--------------------|--|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| | "Judicial Statistics." Police Account. | Coroners' Account. | "Judicial Statistics." Police Account. | Coroners' Account. | "Judicial Statistics." Police Account. | Coroners' Account. |
| 1859 | 2 | 204 | 49 | 19 | 51 | 223 |
| 1860 | 4 | 217 | 34 | 25 | 38 | 242 |
| 1861 | 1 | 199 | 43 | 23 | 44 | 213 |
| 1862 | 328 | 170 | 36 | 18 | 364 | 188 |
| 1863 | 324 | 200 | 0 | 14 | 324 | 214 |
| 1864 | 355 | 216 | 41 | 11 | 396 | 227 |
| 1865 | 342 | 224 | 27 | 7 | 369 | 231 |
| | 1,356 | 1,421 | 230 | 117 | 1,586 | 1,538 |

* In Table IV. of "Judicial Statistics" for this year (page 16) the Police report 0 against the City of London. In the Coroners' report, in the same volume, under the head "Middlesex" (page 40) we have "City of London and Borough of Southwark, 23." And as we have ascertained from the Coroner for London and Southwark that he returned 9 for Southwark, it is tolerably clear that, instead of 0 on this table, the return ought to have been 14. But it is wearisome work to track the countless inconsistencies of this description to their sources.

It will be seen by referring to the above table, that in the last seven years, the Coroners for Middlesex and Southwark have recorded 1,538 verdicts of self-murder. Of these 1,421 were chargeable to the Metropolitan Police District, and 117 to the City of London, *i.e.*, 92·4 per cent. to the former, and 7·6 per cent. to the latter.

Taking the *Coroners'* reports for the first *three* of these years (1859—61) we have—

| | |
|---|-----|
| Suicides in parts of the Metropolitan Police District | 611 |
| „ „ the City of London „ | 67 |

But if we contrast these figures with the *Police* returns in "Judicial Statistics," it will be observed that the Metropolitan District is credited with *but 7 instead of 611*; whilst the City is charged with *126 instead of 67* of these cases of self-murder. How are these proportions to be explained?

The subsequent *four* years give as the *Coroners'* totals—

| | |
|--|-----|
| Suicides in the Metropolitan Police District | 810 |
| „ „ City of London „ | 50 |

Whilst the *Police* returns give to the District of the Metropolis 1,349, and assign 104 to the City. How is this to be explained?

We have thus the *Coroners* of Middlesex in direct antagonism with the authorities of the Police, as regards the *proportions* of these crimes; and we have, apparently, "Judicial Statistics" contradicting itself.

It will be further noticed that the Police average of suicides in the Metropolitan District for the *three* years, 1859—61, was 2½ per annum, and that for the *four* years, 1862—65, it was

337 per annum ! Now, is it likely that there should have been but *one* suicide in the Metropolitan District in 1861, and *three hundred and fifty-five* in 1864? Yet the totals of the seven years are nearly alike, which proves that cooking has *not* been resorted to ; or surely on the principle, "in for a penny in for a pound," the result would have been made to demonstrate, statistically, its own accuracy.*

Some very curious inquiries might be beneficially prosecuted by amateur statisticians upon the singular discrepancies, as they appear to be, presented by this tabular record of despondency and desperation in the County of Middlesex. Taking the years 1861 and 1862, it may be asked—by what moral, meteorological or psychological influences so great mental depression and physical prostration were produced as to increase these attempts in the latter year, *thirty-two thousand eight hundred per cent.* above those of the former year? Again, to what statistical eccentricity are we to attribute the placing in juxta-position for 1861 of 1 *unsuccessful* and 190

* In these statistics the SUICIDES given by the Middlesex Coroners do not include those of the entire Metropolitan Police District, nine of the Districts of the Board of Works being omitted—viz., Southwark, Bermondsey, Newington, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Camberwell and Rotherhithe, in Surrey ; and Greenwich and Lewisham, in Kent—which not being in the County of Middlesex, are not included in the returns of the Coroners of that County. Nor are the inquests held in those districts reported separately in "Judicial Statistics," under Surrey or Kent. Hence we are unable to state the precise amount of Suicides to be added to those of Middlesex, in order to arrive at the totals of the Metropolitan Police District. It is somewhat remarkable that in the tables of Inquests, the Borough of Southwark, which is in Surrey, is given under the head Middlesex ; and, being linked with the City of London, its Suicides (90 in the last seven years) are recorded against the City of London, to which they do *not* belong, instead of against the Metropolitan District, to which *they* do belong—Southwark being within its area. The returns for the two districts might surely be given separately.

successful attempts at suicide? And that problem satisfactorily solved, how, we would ask, is it to be accounted for that, in the ensuing year, and for the three following years, the criminal *failures* exceeded the criminal *successes* by more than a hundred per annum? We refer these considerations to the intelligent investigation of the Editor of the *Lancet*.

If the cipher in the column devoted to the City and Southwark has been correctly posted against the year, 1863, the white kid gloves are clearly due to some "putter down" of suicide in the City of London; or on the other hand, may we not suggest, as the more probable hypothesis, that the return was dropped between the City and the Home Office, and that no further inquiries have been instituted.

It may be added that the Coroners of Middlesex return in 1861 the annual number of 49 deaths from "excessive drinking," whilst those of the City *including Southwark*, record but 2 cases annually of a like description.

Paragraph XI.—“(Graver Offences Continued) Ratio to Houses.”

“Of offences in houses, namely, burglary, housebreaking, breaking into “shops, warehouses, larceny to the value of £5 in dwelling-houses, and “‘other felonies and misdemeanours’ (so specified in the ‘Judicial Statistics’), the numbers were—in the Metropolitan District, 1,168; in the “City, 104, being in the following ratio :—Metropolitan District, of 1 to “360, or 277 per cent. of the inhabited houses; City, of 1 to 127, or 782 “per cent. of the inhabited houses.”

It is singular that the offences selected to compare with the number of *houses*, should omit “Sacrilege” and “attempts to break into houses, shops,” etc., whilst it includes the indefinite offence of “other felonies and misdemeanours;” has this very singular selection been adopted because the latter class told against the City, whilst the former are 20 to 1 against the Metropolitan Police District?

We have no difficulty in meeting and disposing of any fact, or assumed fact, contained in this letter, or in any of its paragraphs—certainly not with the house-and-crime-fallacy, but we confess to an incapacity as regards Sir Richard's ratios and percentages. What is intended by 277 and 782 per cent. of the inhabited houses, passes our comprehension. The number of houses in the Metropolis has, as we have shewn, been very variously stated; but, taking them at the lowest figure quoted, viz., 360,089 + 14,483 (for the City) = 374,572, and increasing them in the specified ratios of 277 and 782 per cent. (aggregated), we arrive at 3,966,717 houses. So that, if graver crimes are in this relation to houses, we have 3,966,717 crimes to 12,232 criminals, the total number indicted.*

Paragraph XII.—*“Crimes of Every Description higher in the City than in the Metropolitan District.”*

“It is thus shewn that the crimes of a serious character, both those against persons and houses, as well as crimes of every description, are relatively to population and houses much higher, in the City than in the Metropolitan District. The inference is, that the Metropolitan Police are more efficient than the City Police for the prevention of crime. The percentage of the persons apprehended who are committed for trial is much greater in the Metropolitan District than in the City. These results shew that a greater number of persons are improperly apprehended in the City. The Metropolitan Police act with better discretion, and more regard to the evidence against the persons apprehended. For the accuracy of the calculations and results which I have stated, and for other calculations and interesting deductions on these matters, I beg to refer to a paper attached, by Mr. Frederick Purdy, Secretary to the Statistical Society, and the Statistical Clerk to the Poor-Law Board, to whom I referred the returns for examination and correction.”†

* “Judicial Statistics,” 1861, p. 10.

† We think it is due to Mr. F. Purdy, and to the statistical clerk of the Poor-Law Board, to state that we do not find their names attached to any of the letter under review, vouching for the accuracy of the figures in contained.

"It is **THUS** shewn" is easily written. But nothing can be said to be shewn at all, if nothing be seen. Sir Richard has been dealing only with the Indictable offences for a *particular year*. But the offences subject to the summary jurisdiction of the magistracy are *eight times* as numerous as those to which it has pleased the Chief Commissioner to direct attention; and whilst it has been shewn that but little is known in Scotland Yard of the statistics of those 12,232 cases, it would seem that *nothing* whatever is known there of the 85,086 offenders who in that same year, 1861, were made amenable to the criminal law in this City and Metropolis.

The diminution of the incentives to crime and the removal of facilities for its perpetration and concealment, are among the obvious means by which the criminal element of a population may be reduced to its minimum. And it would seem, from numerous comparisons already made, that this degree of relative perfection has been well nigh attained in the City of London. But there is one illustration of this view which has not been hitherto mooted, and to which we think attention should be directed.

The Census return of 1861 informs us that—

The PUBLICANS and BEERSELLERS of

the Metropolitan District number 8,844, or 1 to 291 persons;
 Whilst those of the City of London
 number 616, or 1 in 1,052 persons.

Here we have a manifest inducement to inebriety and possible criminality promoted by the magistracy and licensing authorities, in the excessive ratio of 260 per cent. over the ratio within the City of London.

It will not, therefore, appear surprising that, of the prisoners prosecuted, there is a much larger proportion of them in the Metropolitan Police District who are returned to the Home Secretary as "*Habitual Drunkards*." And, accordingly, we find in "Judicial Statistics" the subjoined statement :—

'Class of persons proceeded against on Indictment and Summarily.'

"HABITUAL DRUNKARDS."

| | |
|---|-------|
| Metropolitan Police District (annual average for the last eight years) | 3,651 |
| City of London (ditto) | 94 |

Which, in the former case, is 1 habitual drunkard to 705 ; and, in the latter, 1 to 6,894 of the population. Cause and effect were never more clearly connected.

We further append to these observations touching the question of the efficiency of the Police, some very cogent evidences, we will not say of the greater efficiency of the City Police, but of the occasion for *yet greater efficiency* in the Police of the Metropolitan District. It is as well to state that we still write as "of authority," for we continue to quote from Sir George Grey's "Judicial Statistics" for the selected year, 1861 :—

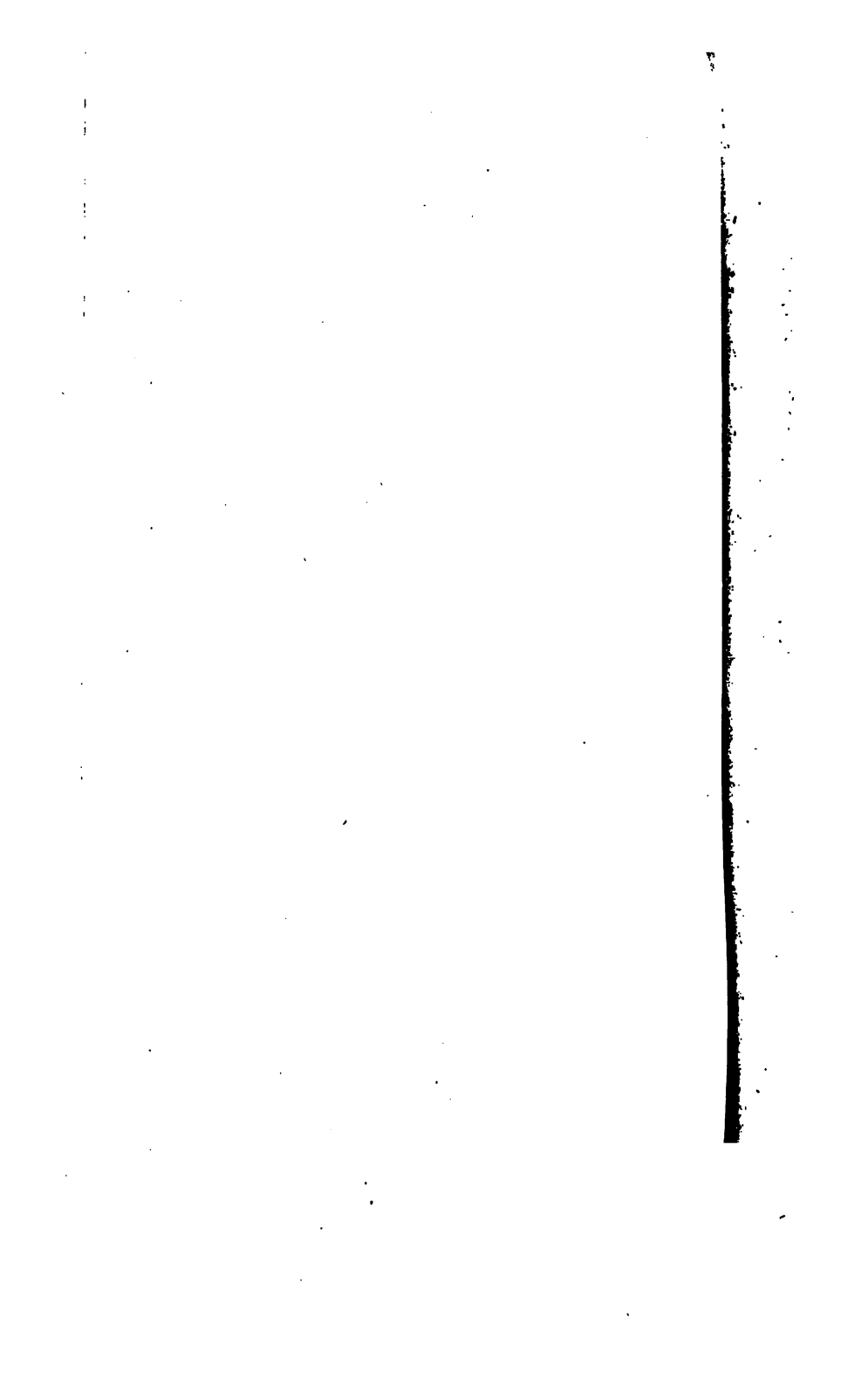
"RECEIVERS OF STOLEN GOODS, KNOWN TO THE POLICE."

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 232 |
| In the City of London | 11 |

"HOUSES FOR THE RECEPTION OF STOLEN GOODS"—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 181 |
| In the City of London | 11 |





“BROTHELS AND HOUSES OF ILL FAME”—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 1,601 |
| In the City of London | 9 |

“OTHER HOUSES, THE RESORT OF THIEVES AND PROSTITUTES”—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 567 |
| In the City of London | 44 |

“KNOWN THIEVES AND DEPREDATORS”—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 2,961 |
| In the City of London | 57 |

“SUSPECTED PERSONS AT LARGE”—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 1,974 |
| In the City of London | 51 |

“PROSTITUTES” (known or suspected as Depredators, etc.)—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 7,096 |
| In the City of London | 28 |

If we call the City one-seventh of the Metropolis (it is about that, combining rental and population) its proportion of the grand total of the above 14,823 would be 2,117; and, by so many as its actual number may fall short of these, will be the *excess* of the Metropolitan Police District in these curses of civilization, these hindrances to advancement, these dangers and nuisances to our Christian commonwealth. Instead of a *seventh* part,

2,117, the ACTUAL share of the City is seen to be only 211—only a *seventieth* part—the Metropolitan Police District having *sixty-nine times* the proportion of its municipal neighbour in these disreputable, and, to a great extent, preventable elements!

With what grace can Sir Richard Mayne inform Sir George Grey that “the Metropolitan Police are more efficient than the City Police for the prevention of crime”—or for any purpose within the legitimate scope of their duty? With what face can Mr. Edwin Chadwick pledge himself to Mr. Ayrton’s Committee that he *knew* the statistics of the Chief Commissioner were to be depended upon?

We take leave to suggest to Sir Richard Mayne that as he knows of *fourteen thousand* causes or incentives to crime in his district, that his Force will not have merited his compliment nor justified his self-laudation until “Judicial Statistics” shall bear witness to the reduction of this monstrous army of inducements and aids to crime, by at least one-half. He could not better prevent crime than by the suppression of the notorious encouragers and haunts of his criminals; and, however honourable and admirable his motive may have been for writing the letter under review, we think that, if he had devoted the time occupied in its preparation to the uprooting of a few of the nests of vice which demoralise and disgrace his district, the community would have been the gainers.

It is much to be regretted, upon many grounds, that Sir Richard Mayne had not entered upon a crusade to put down the public enemy, or to co-operate with the Magistracy for the prevention of many of these incentives to crime



INDI

8—65, SHEWING T
THE NUMBER OF
ANNUAL EXCESS

Compiled from

| 1858. | | 1859. | |
|--|-------|--|-------|
| Metro- politan Police District. | City. | Metro- politan Police District. | City. |
| 41 | 32 | 380 | 18 |
| 48 | 33 | 488 | 28 |
| 65 | 824 | 8,618 | 739 |
| 24 | 1 | 18 | ... |
| 33 | 72 | 680 | 85 |
| 74 | 56 | 69 | 70 |
| 285 | 1,018 | 10,253 | 940 |

ACTUAL Crim

ANNUAL Ex

before undertaking the office of censor upon others, who have shewn themselves to be more practical and more successful than himself.

This will be made apparent upon an examination of the subjoined table of INDICTABLE OFFENCES.

We desire to reiterate that the annexed table is based upon the figures of the Home Secretary ; that it enumerates *all* the *Indictable* offences of the last eight years, and not merely of a selected year ; that the classification is that of Sir George Grey and not that of Sir Richard Mayne ; and that the comparative efficiency of the City Police, as tried by this test, is demonstrated beyond all question.

The results of the table are instructive in every respect, but the following may be pointed out as particularly striking :

| | |
|---|----------------|
| In class 1 (the gravest crimes of the Murder class) there were chargeable, to the Metropolitan Police District..... | 95·6 per cent. |
| To the City of London .....only | 4·4 per cent. |

100

| | |
|--|----------------|
| In class 2 (the class of Burglary, Highway Robbery, etc.) there were chargeable, to the Metropolitan Police District | 92·0 per cent. |
| To the City of London | 8·0 per cent. |

100

| | |
|--|----------------|
| In classes 3 to 6 (comprising the less aggravated offences) there were chargeable, to the Metropolitan Police District | 91·6 per cent. |
| To the City of London | 8·4 per cent. |

100

It will be observed, not only that the percentage of crime in the City is extremely small, but that, small as it is, it becomes *still less* as the gravity of crime *increases*.

The reverse is the case as it regards the Metropolitan Police District. To take the case of Class 1—the gravest offences against the person—the proportion of those crimes relatively to the population, should have been in eight years 2,973, the crimes actually committed were 3,558, being an excess of 585 crimes of this class chargeable to the Metropolitan Police District—an excess of 20 per cent.

If the reader will refer a few pages back, he will find that in our remarks upon the sixth paragraph of Sir Richard Mayne's letter, we complained that he had confined his inquiries to a selected year, and to a selected and small portion of the criminal statistics of that year; and we promised that after refuting his conclusions from such inadequate (not to say unfair) data, we should enlarge the scope of our inquiry, so as to include *all* the offences for the *extended period of the last eight years*.

We proceed to the fulfilment of our pledge.

Having hitherto, in a spirit of accommodation, restricted our investigation to the 100,875 cases of the criminal population, we propose shortly to direct attention to the much larger number of 740,684 offenders to whom the Chief Commissioner has not condescended to apply his powers of investigation. We feel bound to supplement his partial return by the inquiry—why has the great bulk of our criminal population been ignored? and by the subjoined tabular reply:—

**COMPARATIVE EFFICIENCY of the Metropolitan and City Police Forces tested by Offences Summarily Determined
in the Eight Years, 1858—65. (Compiled from "Judicial Statistics.")**

| APPREHENSIONS. | 1858. | 1859. | 1860. | 1861. | 1862. | 1863. | 1864. | 1865. | Total of Eight Years. |
|--------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------------------------|
| Metropolitan Police District | 98,037 | 84,399 | 80,477 | 79,337 | 84,356 | 83,373 | 84,551 | 91,579 | 686,109 |
| City of London Police District | 5,940 | 4,656 | 6,151 | 5,749 | 6,914 | 7,667 | 8,924 | 8,574 | 54,575 |
| DISCHARGES. | | | | | | | | | |
| Metropolitan Police District | 45,038 | 39,382 | 37,169 | 37,698 | 39,404 | 36,672 | 37,731 | 41,979 | 315,073 |
| City of London Police District | 1,441 | 1,018 | 1,333 | 1,634 | 2,062 | 2,117 | 2,436 | 2,269 | 14,310 |
| CONVICTIONS. | | | | | | | | | |
| Metropolitan Police District | 52,999 | 45,017 | 43,308 | 41,639 | 44,952 | 46,701 | 46,820 | 49,600 | 371,036 |
| City of London Police District | 4,499 | 3,638 | 4,818 | 4,115 | 4,852 | 5,550 | 6,488 | 6,305 | 40,265 |

Efficient Apprehensions, resulting in Convictions:—

| | | |
|--|---|----------------|
| METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT—371,036 Convictions to 686,109 Apprehensions..... | = | 54·0 per cent. |
| CITY OF LONDON 40,265 Convictions to 54,575 Apprehensions..... | = | 73·7 per cent. |

Inefficient Apprehensions, resulting in Discharges:—

| | | |
|---|---|----------------|
| METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT—315,073 Discharges to 686,109 Apprehensions..... | = | 45·9 per cent. |
| CITY OF LONDON..... 14,310 Discharges to 54,575 Apprehensions..... | = | 26·2 per cent. |

It will be seen that by adding the numbers of the Indictable offences (100,875) to the offences Summarily determined by the Magistracy (740,684), we have the aggregate of our criminal population for the last eight years—viz., 841,559. This will give us an annual average of 105,195, whilst Sir Richard Mayne limits the scope of *his* inquiry and report to the 12,232 Indictable offenders in the year 1861. It will be remembered that the Chief Commissioner had *excluded* all the cases of murder, and *included* all the cases of larceny from the person; and we now direct attention to the fact that he has *omitted from all his calculations* 88 per cent. of the criminals, duly registered in the Police returns published by the Home Secretary. There must have been some sufficient reason why a public functionary should thus evade the real object of inquiry.

The table likewise demonstrates that a much larger proportion of the criminals apprehended by the City Police are ultimately convicted than those apprehended by the Metropolitan Force. The proportion of *efficient* apprehensions being:—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| In the City | 73·7 per cent. |
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 54·0 „ |

The table further informs us that the proportion of *inefficient* apprehensions—i.e., those not convicted—is also largely in favour of the City Force. The proportions of *inefficient* apprehensions being:—

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| In the City | 26·2 per cent. |
| In the Metropolitan Police District | 45·9 „ |

That the City Police has not deteriorated during the last ten years—that it is, as a Force, even more efficiently ad-

ministered by Colonel Fraser, its present experienced Chief will be apparent from the subjoined figures, furnished by Mr. D. W. Harvey, the late Chief Commissioner, to the Royal Commission of 1854. Indeed, it will be seen that the City of London has materially improved its relative position, as it regards efficiency, within that period :—

“The number of persons taken before the Magistrates by the City. Police, for the ten years ending 1852, was 51,677 ; in the Metropolitan Police, 666,764.—We find that there were *Discharged* in the City 20,346, or above 39 per cent. of those apprehended. As regards the Metropolitan District, they were *Discharged* at the rate of 50 per cent., the number being 333,960.—So, again, with respect to those summarily *Convicted*; the proportion is 52 per cent. in the City; in the Metropolitan Districts it is 42.”

No person who shall have carefully studied the above facts will hereafter attach any importance to Sir Richard's insinuation that “the number of persons improperly apprehended by the City Police, is double that so apprehended by the Metropolitan Police;” or, his assertion that “they [the Metropolitan Police] get up their evidence more satisfactorily;” or that “less than one-half of those apprehended by the City Police are committed for trial;” or, that “half the number of persons apprehended by the City Police were discharged by the Magistrates;” or, that “the Metropolitan Police are more efficient than the City Police for the prevention of crimes.”

To statistics Sir Richard appealed; to statistics he has been remanded; by statistics he stands condemned.

"Corrected" "Judicial Statistics."

"I had occasion lately to call your attention to an error in the last volume of the 'Judicial Statistics,' presented to Parliament for the year 1861, as to the average annual cost per man of the Metropolitan and City Police Force, which was stated to be £78 3s. 2d. in the Metropolitan and £79 4s. 7d. in the City Police, making the difference only £1 1s. 5d. These results were obtained by dividing the total expenditure of the respective establishments by the number of the Police of each Force, but in the accounts of the expenditure of the Metropolitan Police Establishment there are several sums of a very large amount which do not relate to the cost of the police constable, and there are none similar in the City Police accounts, on which the calculation was made with regard to the City Force; *the error will be corrected in the forthcoming volume of 'Judicial Statistics.'*"

The above extract, suppressed by Mr. Chadwick in the letter of Sir Richard Mayne submitted to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, introduces us to a more serious branch of inquiry than any which have engaged our attention hitherto. We have attributed the inaccuracies, inconsistencies and fallacies pointed out, to want of consideration, defective information, or inexperience in the use of statistics—which, like edged tools, are apt to cut the fingers of those who unskilfully meddle with them. The above paragraph, however, appears to suggest an intention to *invent* statistics for an occasion—which, connected with other circumstances, would seem to indicate that Sir Richard entertained a foregone conclusion in favour of his own economical management, and desired to support it, by doctoring the "Judicial Statistics" of the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

We are not, as a nation, so well practised, as some of our neighbours, in the use and complication of Statistics—as all connected with the science are aware. Our statistical tables,

however, if few and far from elaborate, have usually been considered reliable; and it is with regret that we confess to having our faith rudely shaken by the investigation which Mr. Chadwick has imposed upon us.

That we should find the tables free from error, we were not so inexperienced as to expect; that any could enter upon such thorny paths without an occasional stumble, we were not so unreasonable as to assume.

“The best may slip, and the most cautious fall;
He’s more than mortal that ne’er err’d at all.”

But we did expect, and we had a right to assume, that official tables, prepared at great cost of public money, should, if not free from inaccuracy, be at least placed beyond the reach of perversion, for the promulgation of a fallacy, or the gratification of a whim. Statistics which are unreliable, are blind guides and false lights indeed.

The “error,” it will be seen, concerns the *cost per man* of the Metropolitan Police Force, for the year 1861. It was stated in the “Judicial Statistics” for 1861 to be £78 3s. 2d. This sum Sir Richard thought too high, and hence his determination to have the cost reduced in amount by correction in the volume for 1862.

We have shewn, already, how Sir Richard reduces his cost per man for 1861 from £77 10s. 5d., its *real* amount, to £65 9s. 3d., its hypothetical amount.* We need not therefore retrace our steps in relation to that argument or that year.

* Vide pp. 75—80.

It is with the volume of "Judicial Statistics" for the year 1862 that we are now concerned, and with the simple question of the correction of an erroneous entry in the volume of the preceding year. Turning to the tables for 1862 in search of the predicted emendation, we find the object of our search—*not* amongst the Police returns—but introduced between the Coroners' Inquests and the Tables of Crimes, under the unassuming and unsuggestive heading of "Statements furnished by the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis and the Receiver." We are unable to refer to the page, for we observe that the "statements" were interpolated, as it would seem, *after the Report had been presented to Her Majesty*, and, after printing—as they are inserted irrespectively of the numbering of the pages, and no reference to them is found in any of the Tables of Contents. It is never too late to do a right thing—so thought Sir Richard; and, though late in its insertion—almost too late to clothe it with the stamp of authority—yet we welcome the paper as a clue to the elucidation of a correction in an interesting statistical document.

It would appear that Sir Richard, by the document interpolated as above, suggested to the Home Secretary the deduction of items, amounting in all to £72,558, from the total cost of the Metropolitan Police for the year in question, and thus arrived at an *estimate* which he was pleased to regard as the actual total cost of his Force. These figures agree with those in Table A of his letter to Sir George Grey.

There is, however, an inconsistency, as a matter of account

in this transaction which strikes us as singular, but which is, perhaps, susceptible of explanation—that the total cost of the Police, as given in “Judicial Statistics,” is that for the year ending the 29th of September, 1861, whilst the items abated are those given in the accounts of the Police as for the year ending the 31st of December, 1861. We do not possess, therefore, the figures of any complete year, and inasmuch as the number of men composing the Force at Michaelmas differed from those at the close of the year, we are precluded, for both reasons, from following the correction so as to test its accuracy. The total cost per man for 1862 is equally inscrutable; the document interpolated in the volume for that year gives it at £62 7s. 3d., and figures are exhibited to justify that estimate; but they are not borne out by the facts stated in the tables of “Judicial Statistics,” which give £74 11s. 3d. as the total cost per man.

An impenetrable mist appears to pervade the whole subject. It would seem that, as the Goddess Venus once manifested her maternal solicitude for her favourite son Æneas, by covering him with a cloud, and conveying him beyond the reach of harm, so Sir George Grey condescended, in 1863, to involve Sir Richard Mayne, and the circumstances of the cost of his Metropolitan Force, in a fog of figures—thus screening him from the consequences of his imprudence in meddling with statistics, and protecting, from the eyes of the uninitiated, the secret of the “cost per man” to this day.

This is, however, a serious matter; though we may have appeared to treat it jocularly. It must be evident statistics, to be of any value whatever, should be at

reach of suspicion. They are the product of a compilation of hard, unyielding *facts*; the science is allied by the closest ties to those termed "exact," and there is no place or scope within its province for the exercise of taste or fancy. The introduction of an *estimate* into the region of fact and exactitude involved in "Judicial Statistics," removes that work, since 1862, from the position it has been supposed to occupy, as a stern, impassive, judicial monitor, pointing with unswerving finger to the spots in our social condition. It has, by this one act of compliance with the whim of Sir Richard Mayne, been lowered from its proper position, to rank with works of fancy—if not of fiction. It should henceforth be removed from the scientific shelf in our libraries—from the companionship of Mill's "Logic," and Colenso's "Algebra"—to take its stand beside the "Pleasures of Hope," or Akenside "On the Imagination."

We should do Mr. Leslie the justice of saying that in his introduction to the "Statistics" he has fairly designated the corrected figure as an *estimate*. The Commissioner and the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police, he says, "have furnished statements shewing items of general expenditure, which *they consider* should be excluded in *estimating* the cost per man." This is honest on the part of the compiler of the tables. But what becomes of the value of the comparative costs of the respective Police Forces and their Establishments?

If a London Commissioner is to deduct cost of "horses," why not a County Chief Constable the like cost of mounting and conveyance? If, in the judgment of Sir Richard and the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police, "medicines," "straw and sawdust for stations," "female searchers," and "washing

towels" are not police charges proper, who is to forbid a Borough Head Constable exercising *his* judgment as it regards scrubbing-brushes, soap, hay, white-lead, pipeclay, or any other conceivable or inconceivable item of abatement. If "purchase and erection of stations" be considered an item not proper to Metropolitan expenditure, then rent of stations—an item which falls with excessive severity on the City Force—should be excluded from the City's returns. The respective Forces, County and Borough, should, in common fairness, receive instructions to modify their returns upon the bases of the corrected return in 1862; "superannuation and retired allowances," "costs of apprehension," of runaway prisoners, and the other items which are excluded from the Metropolitan return should be also deducted elsewhere. So that the *actual* might everywhere give place to the *estimated*, and the returns be again consistent—if not correct.

If, to gratify a whim of the Chief Commissioner, of shewing that his Force is the cheapest in the kingdom, he be allowed to withdraw £70,000 a year of *actual* and *admitted* expenditure of his establishment, then the City Police authorities should abate £7,000 from their total expenditure, and the County and Borough Forces a like proportion, of say one-seventh, of their respective total outlays. We shall then approximate towards the relative or comparative cost, per man, of the respective establishments.

Complaints as to the unreliable nature of the Police returns in "Judicial Statistics" reach us from the provinces. Observing some remarks in the public prints respecting the "statistical" position of Manchester—which we knew to be a well-ordered town—we applied to the authorities there, and they obligingly supplied us with their last Report on the

Criminal Statistics of the Town and Police. We find in it the following remarks of the Chief Constable, which we extract from his Annual Report, very recently rendered. They confirm every word we have said respecting the care, caution and consideration which should be exercised in making use of the official figures :—

"I feel it my duty to advert in this Report to the state of Manchester "as regards crime in comparison with other large towns, as it would "appear from the returns furnished to Government by the Police, which "are published annually in the 'JUDICIAL STATISTICS,' that the proportion of crime to population is much greater in this City than in the "Metropolitan Police District, the City of London, and most other large "Boroughs.

"The Recorder of Birmingham, in charging the Grand Jury, at the "Sessions in that Borough, last October, observed, in reference to these "Returns, that he could not help thinking that the word '*Crime in* " '*Sheffield, Leeds and Birmingham was taken to have a very different* " '*meaning from what it had in the minds of those who made the returns for* " '*Liverpool and Manchester.*' This view of the case is, I believe, correct ; "and I shall endeavour to explain how it is possible that different opinions "respecting crime can be, and probably are, entertained. The table "from which the foregoing figures are extracted is known as the Table of "Indictable Offences. It is prepared annually for each Police District, "in conformity with, and under instructions received from the Home Secretary, to whom the returns are forwarded in October every year. In preparing this return the Police are instructed 'to enter only such cases as, " '*in their judgment, from the circumstances attending them, would, if* " '*discovered, be sent for trial.*'

"It will be seen that a *discretionary judgment* is given to the Police "which it is scarcely possible for two individuals to exercise alike. They "are called upon to form an opinion of the view a Magistrate would take "of a case if there were a prisoner to deal with, when they have no "prisoner, and frequently but imperfect details of the circumstances of the "robbery to assist them in forming a judgment."

It is undesirable to carry our investigations, as it regards crime, beyond the limits of the Metropolis. Were we to do so we should require a more extensive acquaintance, than we possess, of particular *local* circumstances. We may, however, point out here, how evidently unreliable are the "Judicial Statistics" as at present gathered, by adducing one illustration, out of very many, which present themselves:—

'The adjacent cities of Bristol and Bath are well known to be inhabited by populations of widely differing character—the former a sea-port and trading town, largely frequented by foreign sailors, with all the disadvantages attending such conditions; the latter, the selected place of residence for retired competence, gentility and respectability. Yet here are the results of comparison, as it regards Indictable crimes, for the year 1865.

By "Judicial Statistics," Bristol, with a population of 154,093, is credited with 261 INDICTABLE Crimes; whilst Bath, with a population of only 52,528, is credited with 285 such crimes!

Bristol is, therefore, charged with a proportion of 1 crime to 590 persons. Bath is, in like manner, credited with 1 crime to every 184 persons—

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Being at the rate of, for Bristol | 24 per cent. |
| „ „ for Bath..... | 76 „ |

So that Bath is more criminal than Bristol in the proportion of more than 3 to 1! We cast no imputations; we seek for no causes. We simply state the statistical results as they appear by the official Criminal record. It is for the Honourable

Members for Bath City to ascertain what influences are at work to demoralize, or, it may be, to defame, the fair City which they so worthily represent.

Let us now gather up some of the leading results of our investigation, as it regards Crime and the Police in the City and in the Metropolis.

We do not find, distributing the amount of crime committed in the City amongst its residents and daily frequenters, that the moral condition of those inhabitants is such as the official tables would appear to represent; much less are the appalling statements of Sir Richard Mayne justified or confirmed in the remotest degree. The reverse is the case—forcibly illustrating the adage respecting “glass houses.”

It appears—

1. That the cost per man of the Police is not “£13 5s. 4d., or 21 per cent. higher in the City Police” than in the Metropolitan Force. It is found to be but 10s. 2d. per man, higher, for which trifling average additional cost, a better class of men and of a higher standard are obtained.
2. That the additional cost of the City Police per head of the population, is not 8s. 4d., but 1½d. *less* per head of the *resident* population than the Metropolitan Police.
3. That the cost per man of the Metropolitan Police is seen to be higher than that of the City Police by 1s. 3½d.

per head, or 38 per cent., if the *fluctuating* population of the City is taken into account.

4. That the additional annual cost to the City, of £8,370, is purely imaginary.
5. That the cost of Police, as a tax per house; stated to be 200 per cent. higher in the City than in the Metropolitan Police District, is shewn to be as 6s. 3d. is to 19s. 0½d., or more than 200 per cent. higher in the Metropolis than in the City.
6. That more than three crimes out of four, charged in the City, are committed by non-residents—mostly persons living in the Metropolitan Police District.
7. That so far from crimes being 156 per cent. higher in the City than in the Metropolis, they are found, on the contrary, to be as 229 is to 629, or 175 per cent. higher in the Metropolitan District than in the City of London.
8. That, as it regards the ratio of crime to houses; instead of crime, so measured, being 208 per cent. higher in the City, as asserted, the reverse, and more than that, is the case—crime being 240 per cent. higher in the Metropolis than in the City of London.
9. That, as it regards the number of criminals committed, in relation to population, the proportion is not as 3 to 1 in favour of the Metropolis, but, on the contrary, as 2 to 1 in favour of the City.
10. That as it regards *graver* offences (omitting murders) to

population, the ratio is again unfavourable to the Metropolitan Police, for, instead of the City population being habitually addicted to crimes of violence, as asserted, to the extent of 271 per cent. of the population, we find that the ratio is only 1 grave crime committed to 9,969 persons, or at the insignificant ratio of '01, or *one hundreth part of one, per cent.*

11. That as it regards the crime of Murder (strangely omitted in the comparisons which have been made), we find that *none* were charged as committed within the City in the year of comparison selected by Sir Richard Mayne; but 10 were charged as committed in the Metropolitan Police District; whilst there were, in the *eight years*—1858 to 1865—79 murders stated by the Police to have been committed in London, only 3 of which were chargeable to the City.
12. That the verdicts of Wilful Murder, by Coroners' Juries, greatly exceed in number the cases of Murder reported by the Police.
13. That as it regards *all* the graver crimes in the *eight years* 1858 to 1865—the proportion chargeable to the Metropolitan Police District was 95·6 per cent.; whilst that chargeable to the City was only 4·4 per cent.
14. That the Coroners for Middlesex and Southwark (parts of the Metropolitan Police District) record 1,421 verdicts of self-murder in the period 1859 to 1865; whilst the Coroner for the City records 117 cases only within that jurisdiction.

15. That the ratio of Publicans and Beersellers to the population is, in the Metropolitan Police District, 260 per cent. over the ratio within the City of London.
16. That "Habitual Drunkards" proceeded against for crimes, within the last eight years, were 3,651 in the Metropolitan Police District, to 94 only in the City of London.
17. That "Receivers of Stolen Goods" were 232 in the Metropolitan Police District, to 11 only in the City of London.
18. That "Houses for the reception of Stolen Goods" were 181 in the Metropolitan District, to 11 in the City of London.
19. That "Brothels and Houses of Ill Fame" were 1,601 in the Metropolitan Police District, to 9 in the City of London.
20. That "Other Houses, the resort of Thieves and Prostitutes" were 567 in the Metropolitan Police District, to 44 in the City of London.
21. That "Known Thieves and Depredators" were 2,961 in the Metropolitan Police District, to 57 only in the City of London.
22. That "Suspected Persons at large" in 1861, were 1,974 in the Metropolitan District, to 51 only in the City of London.
23. That "Prostitutes"—being known or suspected depredators—were 7,096 in the Metropolitan Police District, to 28 in the City of London.

24. That as it regards the efficiency of the respective Police Forces, tested by the proportions of *Convictions* to apprehensions, the results obtained from the totals of Summary Convictions for eight years give—for the Metropolitan Police Force, 54 per cent. ; whilst for the City Force the proportion was 73·7 per cent.
25. That as it regards inefficient apprehensions (*i.e.*, apprehensions resulting in *Discharges*), the proportions were, to the Metropolitan Police Force 45·9 per cent. but 26·2 only to the City Police.
26. That these proportions are even more favourable to the City Force than those reported to the Municipal Commissioners in 1854—shewing a condition of progressive improvement in that Force.
27. That the statements of Sir Richard Mayne brought before the Select Committee of the House of Commons by Mr. E. Chadwick, asserting the expensive character and inefficiency of the City Police for the prevention of crime, are *totally and entirely unfounded*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FISCAL REPRESENTATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON AND THE OTHER DISTRICTS AT THE METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.

THE Metropolitan Board of Works—the result apparently of a compromise between a desire to appear to favour Representative Government, and a determination to deny its practical operation—a keeping of the word of promise to the ear, to break it to the hope—was the work of one of the professed Liberal members for the Borough of Marylebone, connected with a Whig administration. It was created, evidently upon the assumption that the people are unable to manage their own affairs, and consequently, unfitted to send members to the Council charged with the expenditure of their money. No direct representation of the rated inhabitants is recognized; and the great constitutional principle—embodied in the House of Commons, and which has been lauded by the Liberal school of politicians—that taxation apart from representation is tyrannical, is practically ignored.

The members of the Board are not, in any sense, directly accountable to their several constituencies—the elective action

being filtered upwards through the Parochial Vestries to the Board of Works; a process not only destructive of direct accountability, but ill adapted to develop the wealth, intelligence and administrative capacity of the districts. No feebler parody of Popular Representative Government could well have been devised.

Another defect in the constitution of the Board of Works, and a departure from established usage, consists in the limited number of its constituent members. The amount of work devolved upon the Board by the growing concerns of a population of over 3,000,000, imperatively demands an effective subdivision of labour amongst its members, and the delegation of a large share of the work to Committees. Such Committees must, of necessity, be very small—the Board numbering only 45 members. In this arrangement the great and obvious security arising from an adequate number of administrators, is not provided for, and the consequent danger of lax administration is proportionately increased.

When it is observed how largely the powers of the Board have grown beyond their first modest beginnings—when it is borne in mind that *eight and a half millions* have been already disbursed*—when it is noticed that the expenditure of the Board (irrespective of the great public works of the Main Drainage, the Embankment and New Streets) is increasing in a very rapid ratio, we think we may assume that no Committee of the House of Commons, so small as those constituting the Committees of the Boards of Works, would ever

* The figures are those of 1861 and 1866, and remain unaltered, for reason stated in Preface to the Third Edition. The existing figures would strengthen the argument.

be intrusted with such control over the public money.* We make no charge of corruption or wasteful expenditure. Upon these points we are in no position to express an opinion. We allude to defects of *system*, such as must culminate, sooner or later, in defective administration; and it is significant and ominous that, in the eleventh year of the Board's existence, the Chairman is put forward to state in evidence, that "the limits of direct taxation have been already reached," and that unusual and exceptional modes of *local* taxation must be resorted to.

Another obvious defect in the constitution of the Metropolitan Board of Works is the deficiency in the representation of *local* interests. Such representation, to be efficient, requires subdivision, in order that the divers interests of the several localities, and of all classes, may be brought under the personal

* Report on Local Government and Taxation, 1866 (p. 91).

IMPROVEMENTS. AMOUNT ALREADY EXPENDED.

Main Drainage; Thames Embankment, north and south,

Street Improvements, etc. Total £5,795,314 15s. 4d.

TAXATION

BY THE BOARD FOR GENERAL PURPOSES AND MAIN DRAINAGE.

| Year. | General Purposes. | | Main Drainage. | | Totals. | |
|-------|-------------------|-------|----------------|-------|------------|-------|
| | £ | s. d. | £ | s. d. | £ | s. d. |
| 1856 | 98,457 | 8 10 | ..... |  | 98,457 | 8 10 |
| 1857 | 87,939 | 12 4 | ..... |  | 87,939 | 12 4 |
| 1858 | 107,087 | 2 2 | 150,389 | 7 9 | 257,476 | 9 11 |
| 1859 | 65,420 | 4 7 | 150,535 | 13 9 | 215,955 | 18 4 |
| 1860 | 119,920 | 6 9 | 150,717 | 12 3 | 270,637 | 19 0 |
| 1861 | 125,618 | 1 0 | 155,749 | 0 9 | 281,367 | 1 9 |
| 1862 | 115,388 | 4 1 | 157,074 | 12 3 | 272,462 | 16 4 |
| 1863 | 132,817 | 11 7 | 157,349 | 2 3 | 290,166 | 13 10 |
| 1864 | 163,826 | 17 2 | 180,262 | 12 9 | 344,089 | 9 11 |
| 1865 | 126,599 | 12 2 | 181,559 | 19 3 | 308,159 | 11 5 |
| 1866 | 160,325 | 8 3 | 181,850 | 0 0 | 342,175 | 8 3 |
| | £1,303,400 | 8 11 | £1,465,488 | 1 0 | £2,768,888 | 9 11 |

The total of the above figures is £8,564,203 5s. 3d.

observation of their representatives. This is impracticable under the existing constitution of the Board. The number of members being only 45 to a population of over 3,000,000 and a rental of £15,250,000 annual value,* there is, on the average, to *each* member a representation of *sixty-six thousand six hundred* constituents and of *three hundred and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred pounds* annual value—an amount of responsibility and duty imposed, and of fiscal power conferred, altogether without parallel elsewhere in reference to local administration. The average representative power of ONE member of the Board of Works EXCEEDS THE WHOLE OF THE ENTIRE CORPORATE REPRESENTATION of any of the Cities and Towns undermentioned :—

CITIES AND BOROUGHS OF LESS POPULATION THAN 66,600
PERSONS, AND OF A LESS RENTAL THAN £338,800.

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------|------------|
| Bath | Gateshead | Oxford |
| Birkenhead | Gloucester | Warwick |
| Cheltenham | Halifax | Walsall |
| Derby | Hastings | Reading |
| Exeter | Wigan | Rochdale |
| Ashton-under-Lyne | Weymouth | Rochester |
| Cambridge | Tamworth | Salisbury |
| Southampton | Hereford | Shrewsbury |
| Chester | Huddersfield | Shields |
| Winchester | Ipswich | Stafford |
| Colchester | Kidderminster | Stockport |
| York | Lancaster | Worcester |
| Coventry | Lincoln | Yarmouth |
| Dover | Macclesfield | Wakefield |
| Dudley | Maidstone | Tynemouth |
| Durham | Northampton | |

* Now, 1876, £23,423,223.

Thus, we see that *each* individual member of the Metropolitan Board of Works is intrusted with a greater amount of fiscal power than is conferred upon the Mayor and Town Council of any one of these cities and towns.

The Corporation Commissioners (1854) emphatically and justly condemned the extension of the Municipal boundaries of the City to the limits of the Metropolis, on this very ground of the impossibility of adequately representing *local* interests by one body, in an area of such magnitude. They report :—

“A change of this magnitude would . . . defeat the main purpose of Municipal institutions. London, taken to its full extent, is a *province covered with houses* ; its diameter, from north to south, and from east to west, is so great that the persons living at its furthest extremities have few interests in common ; its area is so large that each inhabitant is in general acquainted only with *his own quarter*, and has no minute knowledge of other parts of the town. Hence the first two conditions for Municipal government, *minute local knowledge, and community of interests*, would be wanting if the whole of London were placed under a single Corporation.”—*Report*, p. xiv.

The defect of the Board, as it regards the representation of *local* interests, arising from the *vastness* of its jurisdiction and the *paucity* of its members, will be apparent on reference to some of the Districts represented. For instance—one member for Camberwell represents Camberwell, Dulwich and Peckham ; one member for Greenwich represents the towns of Greenwich and Deptford ; one member for Wandsworth represents the six localities of Clapham, Battersea, Wandsworth, Lower Tooting, Putney and Streatham ; two members for Lambeth represent the four separate districts of Lambeth, Norwood, Kennington and Brixton. The list might be further extended.

It will be seen that the defects of the Metropolitan Board of Works consist in departures from established constitutional

principles—recognized and tested, through many centuries, in other Cities and Boroughs. They would have attracted more attention, and, in all probability, would have engendered more abuses, had it not been for the accident of the selection of a gentleman to preside over the Board, who unites in his person a large amount of tact with a good share of common-sense and much administrative experience. Sir John Thwaites has afforded the Board all the weight of his official character, and has possibly averted from it some obloquy—thereby contributing to prolong its existence.

Let us now consider the constitution and composition of the Board as a representative body, *relatively* to the City of London and the other districts of the Metropolis.

And here, again, we find that established, well recognized and equitable principles of local administration have been violated as it regards the distribution and allocation of the members among the various Districts.

The last Census return of the population (1861), and the sheet of rateable annual value published by the Metropolitan Board of Works, throw considerable light upon the comparative claims of the several Districts to a greater or lesser share in the representation. Nor can there be a doubt that there is urgent need for a thorough revision of the existing system, if the Board is to continue.

The diversity in property qualification, and the irrelevancy of the representation to the rateability of the constituencies is well exemplified in the subjoined table; in which are set out the several Districts represented at the Metropolitan Board of Works, their District rateability respectively, the number of members now returned by each, and the *fiscal power* exercised by each member of the Board.

| Districts. | District Rateability. £ | Members Returned to Metropolitan Board of Works. | Fiscal Power of each Member. £ |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---|
| City of London . . . | 2,109,935 | 3 | 703,045 |
| St. George, Hanover Square | 1,076,722 | 2 | 538,361 |
| St. Marylebone . . . | 1,053,748 | 2 | 526,874 |
| St. Pancras | 925,872 | 2 | 462,936 |
| Islington | 777,632 | 2 | 388,816 |
| Paddington | 758,344 | 1 | 758,344 |
| Lambeth | 637,000 | 2 | 318,500 |
| Kensington | 501,132 | 1 | 501,132 |
| St. James, Westminster . | 462,032 | 1 | 462,032 |
| Lewisham | 411,260 | 1 | 411,260 |
| Shoreditch | 386,044 | 2 | 193,022 |
| Hackney | 370,616 | 1 | 370,616 |
| Wandsworth | 361,400 | 1 | 361,400 |
| Poplar | 344,320 | 1 | 344,320 |
| Westminster | 339,660 | 1 | 339,660 |
| Chelsea | 299,868 | 1 | 299,868 |
| Strand | 286,808 | 1 | 206,808 |
| Whitechapel | 276,530 | 1 | 276,530 |
| Greenwich | 274,976 | 1 | 274,976 |
| St. Giles-in-the-Fields . | 272,412 | 1 | 272,412 |
| St. Martin-in-the-Fields . | 265,336 | 1 | 265,336 |
| Camberwell | 250,000 | 1 | 250,000 |
| Clerkenwell | 242,254 | 1 | 242,254 |
| Newington | 240,000 | 1 | 240,000 |
| Limehouse | 234,608 | 1 | 234,608 |
| St. George's-in-the-East . | 196,917 | 1 | 196,917 |
| Holborn | 194,619 | 1 | 194,619 |
| Rotherhithe and St. Olave | 194,200 | 1 | 194,200 |
| Bethnal Green | 192,116 | 1 | 192,116 |
| Mile End Old Town . . | 191,056 | 1 | 191,056 |
| St. Luke's | 186,452 | 1 | 186,452 |
| Fulham | 171,876 | 1 | 171,876 |
| St. Saviour | 164,000 | 1 | 164,000 |
| Bermondsey | 150,000 | 1 | 150,000 |
| Hampstead | 147,624 | 1 | 147,624 |
| St. George, Southwark . | 146,000 | 1 | 146,000 |
| Woolwich | 83,000 | 1 | 83,000 |

To test the inequality of the rateable values conferring representation, let us take the two extreme cases as illustrations.

Every vote given by the member for Paddington represents a rateability of £758,344.

Every vote of the member for the parish of Woolwich, represents a rateability of only £83,000.

The one is more than *nine times* the amount of the other ; yet their votes are *equal*, on all divisions at the Board !

The ten members for the City, St. George's Hanover Square, Marylebone, Pancras and Paddington, represent each, on an average, a rental of £592,462.

The four members for St. Luke's, St. Saviour's, Hampstead and St. George's Southwark, represent each but £161,019.

Yet the votes of each of the fourteen representatives are *equal* ! Surely this should be called *misrepresentation*.

Each of the following districts has a population inferior to the sleeping or minimum population of the City of London—namely, Limehouse, Holborn, Rotherhithe and St. Olave, St. George's-in-the-East, Mile End Old Town, St. Luke, Bethnal Green, St. Saviour, Hampstead, Bermondsey, St. George's Southwark and Woolwich.

Their average population is *less than one-half* of that of the City of London, even by the midnight census. Tested by the *day* census of 283,520 persons, it is found to be *less than ONE FIFTH*. It is, therefore, clear that they are not entitled, on the ground of *numbers*, to the representation which they possess at the Metropolitan Board.

On the ground of *property* also it may be affirmed, without

disparagement to these less important districts, that, if the representation be allotted upon an equitable principle, the City of London is *not half* represented as it should be at the Metropolitan Board.

The rateable property of the City is :—

Eight-fold that of the district of Limehouse ;

Ten-fold that of Holborn, or Rotherhithe and St. Olave,
or St. George's-in-the-East ;

Eleven-fold that of Mile End Old Town, or St. Luke or
Bethnal Green ;

Twelve-fold that of St. Saviour ;

Fourteen-fold that of Hampstead, or Bermondsey, or St.
George Southwark ;

Twenty-five fold that of Woolwich !

The aggregate rateable value of the whole of these *twelve* districts is £2,080,592.

That of the City of London is £2,109,935.

The *lesser* amount of taxable property, *i.e.*, in the twelve districts, is represented at the Board by *twelve* members !

The *greater* amount of taxable property, *i.e.*, in the City, is represented at the Board by *three* members !

If the lesser sum gives a title to twelve, surely the greater sum should, equitably, give the City at least the same number of representatives.

St. George's Hanover Square and Shoreditch have each

two representatives at the Metropolitan Board. The population of the former is 87,771, that of the latter 129,364. The rateability of St. George's being £1,076,722, and that of Shoreditch £386,044, the representative privilege should be as 5 to 2—*i.e.*, if Shoreditch should have two, St. George's should have five, with a surplus of £111,612 in its rateability, as a set-off against the 41,593 of deficient population.

Marylebone has a population of 161,680 against the 155,341 of Islington—with rateable property to the amount of £1,053,748 against £777,632. Yet they have each two representatives. Surely the excess of £276,116 should give three members as against the two members of the inferior district; especially as there are 19 districts of a rateability less *than the excess* of Marylebone over Islington—each of them having a representative at the Board.

Pancras has 198,788 inhabitants, and Greenwich but 85,975, an excess of 112,813 in favour of the former. Pancras is also the more wealthy by £650,896, which should give it arithmetically and equitably, at least a third member; seeing also that there are thirty-one districts of a rateability inferior to *the excess* of Pancras over Greenwich. Paddington affords another illustration of inadequate representation.

The above figures prove, with the force of demonstration, that the City of London is, beyond all comparison, the district most inadequately represented at the Metropolitan Board of Works; whilst several other Districts are, in various degrees, placed at a disadvantage, and others, again, unduly favoured. This must be remedied before any further fiscal powers are conferred.

But the question arises—*upon what principle?* Whatever

views may be held on the subject of *political* representation (on which we express no opinion), there can be no doubt whatever that, as it regards *fiscal* representation, rateable value must be taken into account, if not solely, at least in conjunction with population.

This should be so on the ground of equity ; but it would also be found to be expedient on the score of good policy. It cannot be doubted that, in addition to mere representation, it is most desirable that a Board intrusted with such extraordinary powers as the Metropolitan Board of Works, should obtain the largest possible amount of administrative capacity and general intelligence. This can be best accomplished, and at the cost of least violence to established representative principles, by conferring on the districts in which the rentals are highest, their due share of representation. To act otherwise is to empower the poorer districts to send an undue proportion of representatives ; who, however respectable they may be personally, may not be best calculated to bring to the aid of the Board that weight which position, education and administrative experience can alone bestow.

The landed aristocracy of the West, and the monied and mercantile aristocracy of the City, afford the most promising recruiting grounds for an intelligent class of representatives. The City and the Western districts have, inadequately as they have been represented, returned to the Board the members of the highest social position—Westminster and Chelsea being represented by members of Parliament, whilst the City has sent two representatives who have been members of Parliament, and three who have served the office of Lord Mayor. Comparisons of this kind are invidious and commonly undesirable ; but it may be generally assumed that gentlemen who have

attained a high social position, and who command the confidence of Parliamentary or Municipal constituencies, must be possessed, in some degree, of the requisite administrative experience.

Why the influential Districts of Marylebone, St. Pancras and Paddington should be insufficiently represented—why the City of London, standing as it does at the head of the rest of the Metropolis, as it regards population, wealth and rateable value, and whose citizens occupy no inferior position in respect of intelligence—should have been curtailed of *one half* its representative influence, surpasses our comprehension. But, notice being directed to the subject by the very exceptional attention which the City has received at the hands of the Board, in being favoured by an annual augmentation of its taxable rental—it is probable that the citizens will think themselves entitled to be placed upon a more intimate footing with a Board which has shewn itself so careful of their interests.

We have now only to indicate the number of Members, which, upon the principles enunciated, should be apportioned to each District, if the Board be continued; so that representation and fiscal power should go hand in hand. And as we have shewn that 45 members is a number utterly inadequate to the grave responsibility and onerous duties of the Metropolitan Board of Works, we append to the following table, columns shewing the proportions of members to the several Districts for a Board of 45 members; as well as for a Board of double that number:—

| Districts represented on the Metropolitan Board of Works. | District Rateability. | District Population | Existing number of Members Returned. | Members Proportioned to Rateability. | Members Proportioned to Population. | Members Proportioned to Population & Rateability. | Members Proportioned to a Board of 80 Members. |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| CITY OF LONDON | £ 2,109,935 | 283,520 | 3 | 6'2 | 4'5 | 5'3 | 10'7 |
| St. George's, Hanover Sq. | 1,076,722 | 87,771 | 2 | 3'2 | 1'4 | 2'3 | 4'6 |
| St. Marylebone | 1,053,748 | 161,680 | 2 | 3'1 | 2'5 | 2'9 | 5'6 |
| St. Pancras | 925,872 | 198,788 | 2 | 2'7 | 3'1 | 2'9 | 5'8 |
| Islington | 777,632 | 155,341 | 2 | 2'3 | 2'4 | 2'3 | 4'7 |
| Paddington | 758,344 | 75,784 | 1 | 2'2 | 1'2 | 1'7 | 3'4 |
| Lambeth | 637,000 | 162,044 | 2 | 1'8 | 2'5 | 2'1 | 4'3 |
| Kensington | 501,132 | 70,108 | 1 | 1'5 | 1'1 | 1'3 | 2'6 |
| St. James's, Westminster. | 462,032 | 35,326 | 1 | 1'4 | '5 | 1'0 | 1'9 |
| Lewisham..... | 411,260 | 65,737 | 1 | 1'2 | 1'0 | 1'1 | 2'2 |
| Shoreditch | 386,044 | 129,364 | 2 | 1'1 | 2'0 | 1'5 | 3'1 |
| Hackney | 370,616 | 83,295 | 1 | 1'1 | 1'3 | 1'2 | 2'4 |
| Wandsworth | 361,400 | 70,403 | 1 | 1'0 | 1'1 | 1'0 | 2'1 |
| Westminster | 339,660 | 67,890 | 1 | 1'0 | 1'0 | 1'0 | 2'0 |
| Poplar | 344,320 | 79,196 | 1 | 1'0 | 1'2 | 1'1 | 2'2 |
| Chelsea | 299,868 | 63,439 | 1 | '8 | 1'0 | '9 | 1'8 |
| Strand | 286,808 | 42,898 | 1 | '8 | '6 | '7 | 1'2 |
| Whitechapel | 276,530 | 78,970 | 1 | '8 | 1'2 | 1'0 | 2'0 |
| Greenwich | 274,976 | 85,975 | 1 | '8 | 1'3 | 1'0 | 2'1 |
| St. Giles's-in-the-Fields ... | 272,412 | 54,076 | 1 | '8 | '8 | '8 | 1'4 |
| St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. | 265,336 | 22,689 | 1 | '7 | '3 | '5 | 1'0 |
| Camberwell | 250,000 | 71,488 | 1 | '7 | 1'1 | '9 | 1'8 |
| Clerkenwell | 242,254 | 65,681 | 1 | '7 | 1'0 | '9 | 1'7 |
| Newington | 240,000 | 82,220 | 1 | '7 | 1'3 | 1'0 | 2'0 |
| Limehouse | 234,608 | 56,572 | 1 | '7 | '9 | '8 | 1'6 |
| St. George's-in-the-East.. | 196,917 | 48,891 | 1 | '6 | '7 | '7 | 1'3 |
| Holborn | 194,619 | 45,463 | 1 | '6 | '7 | '7 | 1'3 |
| Rotherhithe and St. Olave .. | 194,200 | 43,558 | 1 | '6 | '6 | '6 | 1'2 |
| Bethnal Green | 192,116 | 105,101 | 1 | '6 | 1'6 | 1'1 | 2'2 |
| Mile End Old Town | 191,056 | 73,064 | 1 | '5 | 1'1 | '8 | 1'6 |
| St. Luke's | 186,452 | 57,073 | 1 | '5 | '9 | '7 | 1'4 |
| Fulham | 171,876 | 40,058 | 1 | '5 | '6 | '5 | 1'0 |
| St. Saviour | 164,000 | 36,170 | 1 | '5 | '5 | '5 | 1'0 |
| Bermondsey | 150,000 | 58,355 | 1 | '4 | '9 | '6 | 1'3 |
| Hampstead | 147,624 | 19,106 | 1 | '4 | '3 | '4 | '7 |
| St. George, Southwark ... | 146,000 | 55,510 | 1 | '4 | '8 | '6 | 1'2 |
| Woolwich | 83,000 | 41,695 | 1 | '2 | '6 | '4 | '8 |

A glance at the above table will shew the changes which are imperatively demanded in the constitution of the Metropolitan Board of Works, as it regards the return of Representatives by the several Districts. It proves, moreover, that while the Board is limited to 45 members, it is utterly impracticable to apportion representation to either population or rateability, or both united.

For—

1. There are no less than *twenty-two* Districts (see col. 2) which are not entitled to *one* representative each out of 45, on the ground of *Rateable value*.
2. There are *fifteen* Districts (see col. 3) which are disentitled to one representative each out of 45, on the ground of *Population*.
3. There are *eighteen* Districts (see col. 4) which are disentitled to *one* representative each out of 45, on the ground of *Rateability and Population united*.

Whilst injustice is thus done by conferring on these Districts one member each, being in excess of their just requirements, the principles of equity are violated in the opposite direction, by depriving the following Districts of their due share of representation (see cols. 1 and 4):—*

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|---|
| The City of London | is accorded | 3 members | instead of | 5 |
| St. Marylebone | „ | 2 members | „ | 3 |
| St. Pancras | „ | 2 members | „ | 3 |
| Paddington | „ | 1 member | „ | 2 |

If the number of the Members of the Board were *doubled*

* Decimal fractions over '5 are treated as unity.

(say 89), it would be practicable to deal out something like even-handed justice ; and, treating decimal fractions over and under '5 as units respectively, we find that the following would be the number of representatives allocated to the several Districts ; which we arrange in the order of their claims to representation :—

| Districts of Metropolitan Board. | Proportionate No. of Representatives. | Districts of Metropolitan Board. | Proportionate No. of Representatives. |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. City of London | 11 | 20. Chelsea | 2 |
| 2. St. Pancras | 6 | 21. Camberwell | 2 |
| 3. St. Marylebone | 6 | 22. Clerkenwell | 2 |
| 4. Islington | 5 | 23. Limehouse | 2 |
| 5. St. George's, Hanover } Square | 5 | 24. Mile End Old Town ... | 2 |
| 6. Lambeth | 4 | 25. St. Giles's-in-the-Fields | 1 |
| 7. Paddington | 3 | 26. St. Luke's | 1 |
| 8. Shoreditch | 3 | 27. Bermondsey | 1 |
| 9. Kensington | 3 | 28. Rotherhithe & St. Olave | 1 |
| 10. Hackney | 2 | 29. St. George's-in-the-East | 1 |
| 11. Lewisham | 2 | 30. Holborn | 1 |
| 12. Bethnal Green | 2 | 31. Strand | 1 |
| 13. Poplar | 2 | 32. St. George's, Southwark | 1 |
| 14. Wandsworth | 2 | 33. Fulham | 1 |
| 15. Greenwich | 2 | 34. St. Martin's | 1 |
| 16. Westminster | 2 | 35. St. Saviour's | 1 |
| 17. Whitechapel | 2 | 36. Woolwich | 1 |
| 18. Newington | 2 | 37. Hampstead | 1 |
| 19. St. James's, Westminster | 2 | Total | 89 |

We have thus indicated, we hope with sufficient clearness, the principles of Representation in the Metropolitan Board of

Works, which, we fully believe, can alone secure the confidence of the represented—if, indeed, the experimental existence of the Board is to be prolonged.

We would briefly summarize them as :—

1. Direct representation and accountability.
2. Increase in the number of members to at least double the existing number.
3. More efficient sub-division for representation of *local* interests.
4. Allocation of members to Districts in proportion to their populations and rateable values.

Some such reorganization might possibly reconcile the Metropolis to a continuance of the extraordinary taxing powers now vested in and sought by the Board. If amendments, similar in principle to those shadowed forth, be not speedily introduced into the constitution of the Board, the fiscal screw, by a few more revolutions being brought to the crushing power, will extort a cry from the least sensitive, and arouse the most apathetic to seek relief in change. The Metropolitan Board is not one of our institutions venerable by reason of their antiquity, and with which the cautious shrink from intermeddling lest they should destroy what they cannot re-constitute. Its creation dates only from 1855, and it is, and was from the first, regarded as an experiment. "The act of 1855 was an attempt"—to quote from Sir William Fraser's amusing little *brochure*—"a simple form, to be ultimately developed. I do not consider, nor, what is more important, does the Public .

consider, that these gentlemen are fully qualified to hold such vast patronage and control, and to spend such gigantic sums, as a general management of London would place in their hands. They are TRILOBITES, and must give place to a higher order of creation."*

* "London Self-Governed." By Sir William Fraser, Bart., M.P.

CHAPTER VII.

METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES—THE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS IN REFERENCE THERETO—AND THE FUTURE OF THE METROPOLIS.

THE Metropolitan Board of Works, in common with many of our institutions, is, as we have stated, the result of a compromise. The Whig party, which has ruled the country almost continuously for the last thirty years, although making professions favourable to administration by popular representation, has notoriously postponed, as long as was possible, the practical application of that principle as it regards both national and local government. Hence, as we have affirmed elsewhere, the creation of this parody of local representative government for the Metropolis.

To the evident indisposition of the ruling party, to bring their own principles to the test of experiment, we must attribute the reluctance which has been displayed to confer Municipal institutions on the unenfranchised Districts of the Metropolis; although such districts equal, as it regards rateable value, *three-fifths* of the aggregated Parliamentary and Municipal Boroughs of England, and possess a population

amounting to nearly *one-half* of that of such aggregate Boroughs. Hence the repeated Commissions to inquire, but none to remedy the inconvenience which efflux of time and growth of population have introduced into the local administration of London; hence the attempt, speedily abandoned—to govern London from the bureau of Her Majesty's Chief Commissioner of Works; hence the conferring upon a Commissioner of Police—irresponsible to Parliament or to Municipality—powers of organizing, arming and disposing of a quasi-military force, in violation of every principle of Constitutional government; hence the repeated attempts to despoil the citizens of London of cherished free customs and privileges (held from time immemorial and defended successfully against the attacks of despotic monarchs and corrupt courts), not because such privileges had been abused, or because their free exercise was dreaded in the particular instance, but because no settled faith in representative government existed, and it was consequently determined that no such free institutions should be conferred on unenfranchised London, as were enjoyed by the City of London, in common with every considerable City and Borough in the kingdom.

It is painful to one professing liberal sentiments, to put upon record that, while the Whigs have been in power, no efficient step has been taken towards conferring or improving Municipal institutions in the Metropolis; whilst no opportunity has been neglected to destroy, injure, or lower in public estimation the only Municipality in the Capital of the Empire, based upon the tried and efficient system of our Saxon ancestors. Such, for instance, were the persistent efforts of the Government, for fifteen years—from 1842 to

1857—to prevent the Corporation of London from Embanking the Thames; the attacks upon the citizens in 1839, and again in 1863, to wrest from them the control of their Police Force, seeking to reduce them, in point of independence, below every Provincial Municipality in the Kingdom (with how much reason or justice will be seen by the contents of Chapter V.). Such were the strenuous but abortive efforts of the Government of 1848, to prevent the passing of the Bill increasing the power of the City to deal with Sanitary matters within their jurisdiction (the results of which increased authority will be alluded to presently); to all which may be added the dog-in-the-manger conduct of the late Government, during the past Session, in opposing and throwing out in Committee, the City's Bill for regulating the street traffic, and for the *erection of street-bridges*, to secure the safe crossing of crowded thoroughfares; and this, too, not because the measure was needless or the Bill defective, or that the Government were prepared with a better, but avowedly on the ground that the Bill, promoted by the City, did not deal with the whole Metropolis.*

It is even more painful to add, that these and other persistent efforts to extinguish popular rights, and to hinder self-improvement or extended public usefulness on the part of the City, received the support of several members for Metropolitan Boroughs—professed opponents of despotic forms of government, and pledged to the maintenance of popular rights.

Such has been the apathy of the Londoners as it regards

* A return of the lives lost and limbs broken since 1866, would point the moral of the above observation.

local administration, and such is the forgetfulness of the public mind, that it becomes needful to recall to recollection, and to record afresh what has been transpiring in these respects.*

To allude to the great work of the THAMES EMBANKMENT. It is, this year (1867), just a quarter of a century since the Thames was surveyed in reference to that important Metropolitan improvement, as designed by the Corporation of London, and agreed to be effected at their expense. It would have been completed *eighteen years since*, at, probably, a fourth part of the expense which it will now involve, had it not been for the discovery by the Government, simultaneously with the determination on the part of the Corporation to carry it into effect—that the soil of the river (over which no legal ownership had been exercised by the Government within historical memory) formed a portion of the hereditary revenues of the Crown. A chancery suit was instituted by the Government, who persistently opposed every attempt at a legislative settlement. For fifteen long years—from 1842 to 1857—all progress in the Embankment was thus barred; and it is a singular commentary upon the jealousy of the Government, lest the Municipal authority should exercise its rights beneficially, that *three* heads of that Government have passed away, whilst *nineteen* of the twenty members of the Corporation who formed the Committee, caused the river to be surveyed, and signed the Report to the Common Council in 1842, are now no more.

* As an illustration of popular inattention to local matters, we point out the following statement by Sir William Fraser :—"The very year that the Metropolitan Board came into existence, the Thames Embankment *was designed*." That Board was created in 1855, the Thames was surveyed and the line of Embankment laid down *by the Corporation of London*, 13 years earlier, in 1842, as above narrated.

It is interesting to notice that Mr. Alderman Finnis, the only surviving member of the Committee recommending the Embankment scheme, sat recently upon the Metropolitan Board of Works, engaged in its construction; and has had the good fortune to live to witness its completion.

As, by the efflux of time, a generation has nearly elapsed since the projection of this scheme, and it has already passed into the region of history, we append an extract from the Report of the Thames Navigation Committee, adopted by the Court of Common Council in 1842 (see Appendix I.), and we introduce here an account of the transaction as furnished by the late Recorder, the Rt. Hon. J. Stuart Wortley, M.P.

“From time immemorial, probably from the period when the Thames was first embanked in very ancient times, the Corporation of London have possessed the Conservancy, and Soil, and bed of the river. They have claimed and exercised the right from time to time of granting licenses to embank, in cases where it has been considered beneficial to the river, applying the proceeds to the removal of shoals and other purposes of improvement on the river.

“In 1842, the Corporation contemplated a large expenditure of money for the purpose of carrying into execution and improvement of the river upon a more extended scale than had before been attempted; but in order that they might receive the best advice before they commenced the undertaking, they applied to the Admiralty for the assistance of Captain Bullock, R.N., who had been engaged in surveys for that Board for many years, and Mr. James Walker, Pres. Ins. C.E. Captain Bullock and the officers of the Corporation in Harbour and Conservancy service made a survey of the Thames within the limits of the City's jurisdiction, and presented an able and elaborate report, recommending a definite system for the future management of the river and its branches, for the purpose of removing shoals, securing the banks, and erecting steamboat-

“piers where requisite. As this project contemplated the expenditure of
 “a very large sum of money, the opinion of the most eminent counsel
 “was taken as to the legal power of the Corporation to carry it into
 “execution, and to apply the fines or rents, which might be received from
 “the owners of wharf property wishing to embank, in defraying the great
 “charges of the improvement.

“Counsel were unanimously of opinion that the Corporation were
 “fully justified in taking this course. The Report was printed and exten-
 “sively circulated ; and the removal of the shoals was about to be com-
 “menced, when the solicitors of the Woods and Forests filed an information
 “against the Corporation, which had the effect of restraining them from
 “executing their design. The ground alleged for this step was, that by
 “the prerogative right of the Crown, the soil and bed of all rivers within
 “the flux and reflux of the tide forms a part of the hereditary revenues
 “of the Crown, and that when the state of the river justified its Embank-
 “ment, the ground reclaimed from the river should be let or sold for the
 “benefit of the Sovereign, as part of the Crown estates.

“The Corporation under the advice of most distinguished counsel
 “unconnected with them, controverted this position, and they have taken
 “such proceedings in resisting the claim of the Crown, as counsel have
 “from time to time advised ; always professing their readiness to be bound
 “by Act of Parliament to apply the revenue which might be derived
 “from this source as they had previously done, not to corporate uses, but
 “for the benefit of the River. The Corporation have been in negotiation
 “with the Government during almost the whole time the suit has been
 “pending, for a settlement of all differences connected with the river, in
 “a manner that would be just to the Crown and the Corporation, and at
 “the same time beneficial to the public. These negotiations are still
 “pending, and as auxiliary to this object, the Corporation have each year
 “placed themselves in a position before Parliament to enable them, in
 “case the proposed arrangement with the Crown could be accomplished,
 “to carry it into effect by means of a Bill.”—*From a paper laid before
 the Corporation Inquiry Commission (1854), by the Rt. Hon. J. Stuart
 Wortley, M.P., Recorder.* (Vide also Appendix I.).

From the hindrance of the Thames Embankment, we

proceed to consider the strenuous opposition to the bestowal of increased SANITARY powers upon the Corporation of London in 1848.

Previously to that year the Commissioners of Sewers for the City, appointed by the Corporation, had completed an efficient system of sewers for the thoroughfares within their jurisdiction. The great FLEET Sewer, still the largest of this class of structures in the Metropolis, was constructed by the Corporation and the City Commission of Sewers. As early as 1842 the engineer of that body had reported the completion of the London Bridge Sewer. These were the first of those large arterial structures which have subsequently been introduced into other parts of the Metropolis, but in respect of which the City municipality led the way and set the example. Mr. Kelsey, since that date, had been enabled to report—

“Within the last thirteen years—that is, since you obtained an outlet “at London Bridge—sewers have been built in one hundred and sixty-eight “different streets and places ; and the map of the City with its sewers, “which, by your direction, I have had the honour of laying before you, “will at once shew that, including old and new, the sewage lines *are complete in your district*. Although it cannot yet be said that not a street, “or court, or alley in the whole City is without adequate drainage, yet “there is fair ground for hope that but few years will elapse before so “desirable a statement can, with truth, be made.”

Subsequently to that period, Mr. Haywood, the present very efficient Engineer of the Commission, had been enabled to report that *every street, lane, court and alley, without exception, had been provided with adequate and efficient sewers*, and the eminent engineers, Sir William Cubitt and Messrs. Brunell and Walker, inspected the works and confirmed by their report the facts stated.

Although the remaining districts of the Metropolis were, at the date to which we refer, provided with Commissions of Sewers appointed by the Crown, yet of none of them could it be affirmed, in 1848, that their system of sewage was complete, or indeed approached completion.

It was under these circumstances that a Government, jealous of Municipal efficiency, brought all its weight to bear against any extension of the powers of the City, and employed persistently its influence to postpone the second reading of the City's Bill, until, finding its own "Health of Towns" Bill in jeopardy, the Government withdrew its opposition, and the City's Bill passed—thereby conferring immense benefit upon the City, and indirectly upon the Metropolis.

The steps resorted to by the Government in opposition to the passing of that measure, were such as should never have been practised by any administration of a free country; and were we to disclose what came to our knowledge in that respect, it would cause the utmost astonishment to the freedom-loving people of London.

The Bill, however, having become law, the first step, in the exercise of the powers it conferred, was the election of a Medical Officer for the City. The appointment of Mr. Simon to that post was the signal for an outburst of journalistic criticism in the Government organs, happily unusual on the part of our fair-dealing press. Misrepresenting the emolument offered to that gentleman (£500 a year and the retention of his private practice) as £50 a year, the censure inflicted upon the Municipality was unstinted, and the predictions as to the unfitness of the City Corporation to exercise Sanitary powers were declared to be most abundantly verified

Yet the same Government promoted that highly-qualified gentleman, whose merits had been first discovered by the Corporation, to the post of *Medical officer to the Privy Council*—thus tacitly admitting the judicious exercise of the sanitary powers, the bestowal of which upon the City they had laboured so strenuously to prevent.

Upon the elevation of Mr. Simon, the City of London selected Dr. Letheby, the celebrated analytic chemist, to be his successor. Eighteen years have now elapsed since the City obtained and began to exercise its increased powers—a period long enough to afford facts sufficient for safe generalization. It happens, also, singularly enough, that the period in question opens and closes with a visitation of cholera. In 1849, in 1854, and again in 1866, that epidemic paid the Metropolis a visit. Let us endeavour to ascertain how a free Municipality, with adequate powers accorded to it, is able to grapple with that class of disorders (alvine) to which cholera is allied.

By dividing the period of eighteen years—1849 to 1866—into three periods of six years, and comparing the results of sanitary measures upon the deaths in each period, we obtain means for testing the progress of sanitary improvement, since the period when the City Commissioners of Sewers obtained their powers for dealing with disease within their jurisdiction.

The following table, compiled from figures obligingly furnished us by Dr. Letheby, enables us to illustrate statistically the improved and improving sanitary condition of the City, since the appointment of Mr. Simon and himself as Officers of health for the City of London :—

The Total Number of Deaths in the City, in the Years 1849 to 1866, with the Proportions of Deaths from Alvine Disorders.

| Years. | Total Number of Deaths. | Deaths from Alvine Disorders amongst Adults. | Ratio per 1,000 of all Deaths. | Ratio per 10,000 of Population. |
|--------|-------------------------|--|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1849 | 3,763 | 825 | 64·2 | 93·5 |
| 1850 | 2,752 | 54 | | |
| 1851 | 2,978 | 23 | | |
| 1852 | 3,064 | 37 | | |
| 1853 | 3,040 | 43 | | |
| 1854 | 3,335 | 233 | 14·2 | 20·0 |
| 1855 | 3,400 | 88 | | |
| 1856 | 2,910 | 34 | | |
| 1857 | 2,904 | 38 | | |
| 1858 | 2,883 | 38 | | |
| 1859 | 2,911 | 31 | 12·5 | 18·1 |
| 1860 | 2,747 | 23 | | |
| 1861 | 2,845 | 24 | | |
| 1862 | 2,726 | 15 | | |
| 1863 | 2,870 | 22 | | |
| 1864 | 2,900 | 20 | | |
| 1865 | 2,673 | 18 | | |
| 1866 | 2,544 | 109 | | |

It will thus be seen that, simultaneously with the progr

of sanitary measures, since the exercise of powers bestowed in 1848, the mortality from alvine disorders has been steadily declining; for, while in the first period of six years—1849 to 1854—the average mortality from such disorders was at the rate of 64·2 per 1,000 deaths, or 93·5 per 10,000 of the population; it was, in the next period of six years—1855 to 1860—but 14·2 per 1,000 deaths, or 20 per 10,000 of the population; whilst, in the six years which have just expired, 1861—1866, it was 12·5 per 1,000 deaths, or 18·1 per 10,000 of the population.

With respect to the diminished mortality from alvine disorders at each successive visitation of cholera within the period of eighteen years, the proportions of mortality in the City of London were as follows :—

| Visitations of Cholera. | Ratio per 1,000 of all Deaths. | Ratio per 10,000 of Population. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1849 | 219·2 | 63·5 |
| 1854 | 69·8 | 18·5 |
| 1866 | 42·8 | 9·5 |

Such has been the progress within the City as the result of sanitary improvement, that the one ratio has fallen from 219·2 to 42·8, and the other from 63·5 to 9·5 !

But a more striking testimony to improved Sanitary action is afforded by the figures understated, which tell of the extent to which the *force* of cholera has been reduced at successive visitations since 1848, and of the comparative immunity of the City in relation to that disease in 1866.

*Proportions of Deaths from Cholera, in London and other
Cities and Towns of Europe.*

(Furnished by the City Medical Officer.)

| Years. | Cities. | Populations. | Deaths from Cholera. | Ratio of Deaths per 10,000 of Population |
|--------|---|--------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1849 | London, City and Liberties | 130,000* | 728 | 56·0 |
| 1864 | „ „ | 126,060* | 211 | 16·7 |
| 1866 | „ „ | 114,472* | 93 | 8·1 |
| „ | Metropolis | 3,037,991 | 5,548 | 18·2 |
| | „ Eastern Districts..... | 607,945 | 3,969 | 65·3 |
| | „ Central | 359,219 | 329 | 9·2 |
| | Liverpool | 484,373 | 1,754 | 36·2 |
| | Paris (1865) | 1,696,141 | 6,653 | 39·2 |
| | Vienna | 560,000 | 2,875 | 51·3 |
| | Naples..... | 446,931 | 2,301 | 51·5 |
| | Amsterdam..... | 262,691 | 1,104 | 42·0 |
| | Ditto, with other Dutch } Towns..... } | 826,464 | 8,872 | 107·3 |
| | Brussels | 184,932 | 3,028 | 163·7 |
| | Ditto, with other Bel- } gian Towns..... } | 634,344 | 11,771 | 185·6 |

We see, then, that the City of London has not only been less and less subject to the epidemic at each recurring visitation, but that during the last visitation it stood more free from the disease than the Central or Eastern Divisions of the

* Nocturnal populations of the City and Liberties, subject to the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Sewers.

Metropolis, which abut upon its confines, and that, when compared with the other chief cities of Europe, its immunity from the pestilence is very marked.

The Eastern Metropolis, it will be seen, had 3,969 deaths from cholera in 1866, against 93 in the City. Had the Eastern Metropolis been furnished with free Municipal organization, and had it been in a position to wrest from an unwilling Government adequate powers to organize a staff of competent and well-paid Sanitary officers, the death figures would not have made so sad a record in the statistics of the Metropolis.

The City of London now occupies no second place, as it regards the average death-rate; indeed, of urban populations it occupies one of the highest positions; as will be seen by inspection of the following table from Dr. Letheby's annual report for 1866:—

Death-rate per 1,000 of the Populations of England for Ten Years, and for the last year, 1866.

| Districts. | Average of 10 Years. | 1866. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| East London Union | 26·4 | 23·8 |
| West London Union..... | 28·2 | 26·8 |
| City of London Union | 21·3 | 18·2 |
| The whole City | 24·8 | 22·2 |
| The Metropolis | 24·0 | 26·2 |
| Districts of Chief Towns | 24·3 | 26·7 |
| Country Districts | 19·9 | 20·3 |
| All England | 22·2 | 23·4 |

These proportions shew that the Sanitary condition of each district of the City has greatly improved during the last ten years, the average death-rate having been reduced to the extent of about 11 per cent. They shew, also, that the mortality in the City is much less than that of the whole Metropolis and of the large towns of England. It stands, indeed, exactly at the average proportion (22·2) for all England during the last ten years. It will be seen further, that comparing the average of the last ten years with the year which is just past, the ratio of the death-rate has *risen* in the Metropolis, in the Chief Towns, in the Country districts, and in all England; whilst it has *declined* considerably in the City of London and in each of its divisions, as follows:—

It has *risen* in the Metropolis from 24·0 to 26·2
 Ditto in the Chief Towns from 24·3 to 26·7
 Ditto in the Country Districts... from 19·9 to 20·3
 Ditto in All England from 22·2 to 23·4

It has *declined* in the whole City ... from 24·8 to 22·2
 Ditto in East London (City) ... from 26·4 to 23·8
 Ditto in West London (City) ... from 28·2 to 26·8
 Ditto in City Union (Centre) ... from 21·3 to 18·2

If it should be attempted to be shewn that these results are accidental, the following table of the amount and progression of *one* section only of sanitary work will prove that, whether accidental or not, the results have been proportionate to sanitary activity. Other illustrations of the same kind could be adduced did our space permit.

*Number of INSPECTIONS OF HOUSES and of ORDERS issued for
SANITARY IMPROVEMENT in the City of London in each of
the last eleven years :—*

| Years. | Houses Inspected. | Orders Issued. |
|--------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1856 | 5,401 | 1,215 |
| 1857 | 5,924 | 2,031 |
| 1858 | 7,786 | 1,721 |
| 1859 | 9,587 | 1,984 |
| 1860 | 9,448 | 2,472 |
| 1861 | 9,425 | 2,518 |
| 1862 | 8,693 | 2,455 |
| 1863 | 9,089 | 2,443 |
| 1864 | 10,700 | 3,179 |
| 1865 | 11,008 | 3,331 |
| 1866 | 12,213 | 3,068 |

It may be stated, in concluding this branch of the subject, that there were seized, condemned and destroyed in the City markets, 340,820 lbs. of meat, besides large quantities of fish, game, poultry and venison, as unfit for human food, during the year last past, being nearly double the average of the previous year, and very largely in excess of the quantity formerly seized, evidencing the increasing activity of the Commissioners of Sewers—that branch of the Corporation which is specially charged with Sanitary matters within the City of London.

To pass from the Embankment hindrance and the opposi-

tion on the part of the Government to the increased Sanitary powers sought by the City, we proceed to notice, briefly, another illustration afforded of the extreme jealousy of efficient Municipal administration manifested by the Executive Government. We allude to the subject of POLICE.

Here again the Municipality *led the way towards improvement* and the Government followed; here again the latter ungratefully attempted, again and again, to supplant the power by which it had been instructed.

Until a very recent period the ancient system of "watch and ward," exercised by all the male inhabitants, existed in the City, the Metropolitan parishes and in the principal Cities and Towns. This watch extended to the *night* only. The Corporation of the City was the first to move in this respect, by obtaining the Act 10, George II. Under that Act they established the City Nightly Watch, and appointed watchmen for the whole City. The next step was the appointment under their corporate powers of a *Day-Police*, consisting of 100 men, *uniformly clothed, placed under the control of one head.*

It was from these rudimentary, and at the time imperfect elements of a Force, acting for the whole ninety parishes and twenty-six wards of the City, that Sir Robert Peel derived his plan for creating one Force to supersede the divided watch in the Metropolitan parishes—that this was the case there can be no doubt. The report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1828, upon which the measure of Sir Robert was based, contains the following :—

"Your Committee have not failed to observe, that the City of London—from the nature of its Magistracy, the description of its various public

officers, the gradation and subordination of their various classes, the division and subdivision of its local limits—*affords an example of that unity and of that dependence of parts on each other, without which no well-constructed and efficient system of Police can ever be expected.* If such a system could be *successfully imitated* in Westminster and its Liberties, and within the other adjacent parishes, which have hitherto formed an unconnected mass of scattered and uncontrolled local authorities, considerable benefit might be expected to ensue. Your Committee are not prepared to recommend any interference with the powers at present exercised by the Municipal authorities of the City of London over the Police and Watch Establishments of the City. They have reason to believe that material improvements have been recently made in the general management of these Establishments; and they are confident that no petty jealousies as to limits of exclusive jurisdiction will prevent a cordial concert and co-operation between the authorities of the City of London, and those which may be charged with the maintenance of the peace in an adjoining district.”—*Report of Select Committee, House of Commons, 1828.*

The Select Committee likewise recommended that the City should have the option of maintaining a Police Force for the Borough of Southwark—a step which, we fear, they were short-sighted enough to decline. Sir Robert Peel, Home Secretary, in introducing his Bill in 1829, for creating the Metropolitan Police, stated expressly that, “The Bill did not include the City of London, *because it was already under an efficient Police.*”—“Times,” May 20th. “Hansard” and the “Morning Chronicle” report more fully and explicitly: “Mr. Peel said, If the City had not been included, it was because the Committee had reported that the state of the nightly Police there was *much superior* to that of Westminster.”* That which Mr. Secretary Peel affirmed in 1829, Under-Secretary the Hon. Fox Maule (Lord Panmure) confirmed in effect some years afterwards. He said in his place in Parliament:

* The “Advertiser” and the “Globe” also confirm the above statement.

"This part of the measure having been considered by a Committee of the House, I am happy to say that the members forming that Committee, although of all shades of politics, have come almost to a unanimous decision in favour of the opinion which has been so strongly expressed, that the control over the Police, in the City of London, ought to be left in the hands of those who now exercise that power. They are convinced that a good and efficient Police would be kept up under their superintendence."

That which Mr. Secretary Peel affirmed in 1829, and Mr. Secretary Fox Maule reaffirmed, Sir George Grey, in effect, repeated in 1856, on the occasion of introducing a Bill for the "Reform" of the Corporation. He said, referring to the claim of the City to exercise its ancient right of watch and ward within its own jurisdiction :—

"If this were a new claim made by the City of London, I think there would be no reason for entertaining it ; but we find that under the powers of an Act of Parliament passed many years ago, a *most efficient body of Police* was established, which has since been in operation under the control of a very able and efficient Commissioner. . . . Harmony and co-operation have existed between the Metropolitan and the City Police, and between the Government and the authorities of the City of London. The utmost readiness has always been displayed by the authorities of the City to listen to any suggestions which have been made by me with regard to the employment of the Police, and when it has been thought necessary to strengthen the Police Force within the City by reinforcements from the Metropolitan Police, the arrangements have been readily acquiesced in by the authorities of the City, and perfect harmony has existed between the two bodies. . . . I think a strong case of practical inconvenience should be established—stronger than any which I am prepared to say has yet arisen—to induce Parliament to leave that Corporation in a position in which no Municipal Corporation in the country is placed—namely, without any Police Force under its own management. We do not, therefore, propose to make any alteration with reference to the City Police, which will be left as it now stands."—Sir George Grey, Home Secretary, *April 1, 1856.*

Notwithstanding the repeated testimonies of those in authority to the efficiency of the Police management of the City of London, yet attempts—fruitless fortunately—were made by the Whig party in 1839, and again in 1863, to wrest

from the citizens the control over the Force which protects their property and conserves the peace of their City. We do not allude to the subject here because that Force demands any vindication at our hands. The duty which we have attempted to discharge in a former chapter—a duty imposed upon us by Sir Richard Mayne's unwise letter, and Mr. E. Chadwick's imprudent use of it—does not justify us in alluding further to this subject than to say, that the attacks made by Government upon so efficient a Force afford another striking illustration of the jealousy with which the Executive regards the independent and efficient action of Municipal bodies.

We have devoted a few pages to the necessary vindication of Municipal Government in London, not so much on account of the City—which holds, and intends to retain, its ancient liberty in this respect—as for the sake of those Districts of the Metropolis which at present are left by a negligent Government at a disadvantage. Districts which in the days of disorganization and weakness, surrendered to other powers which should have been exercised by themselves; and who will never be constituted as independent and duly organized representative bodies, will never exercise the rights of free Municipalities, or take their proper place beside the great Corporations of the Empire, until they cease to rail at the more favoured, because more free, Municipality of London, and demand, in tones which no Government can misunderstand, EVERY right enjoyed by the City and by the provincial Corporations of the Kingdom.

And this introduces us to the question—What of the future of the Metropolis?

So long as this question shall be left to the initiation of

Government, so long will the present *status quo*, the existing inaction, continue ; and London will resemble nothing so much as primeval chaos. Government will never enter heartily or even willingly into any action for conferring free representative institutions, in any form, upon three millions of Metropolitans. To do so would be inconsistent with every tradition and every instinct of the Executive. The struggles of the City of London with the Ruling power, to obtain and then to retain its rights of self-government, form the history of 800 years. Under Norman, Plantagenet, Tudor, Stuart, and Guelph, it has been the same. Every right has been paid for three times over ; every immunity has been lost and won again and again ; forfeited or confiscated by arbitrary power, then reconferred by charter, or by Parliament ; wrested from unwilling hands by a happy conjuncture of circumstances, by tender of political support, or by payments in hard cash.

In ancient times "the good old plan," a simple demand from the Crown, sufficed to deprive the subject of his rights ; in the days of the Stuarts the Star Chamber furnished the convenient machinery ; at the present date a Royal Commission, appointed to "denote a foregone conclusion," or an undue crowding round a Royal carriage on an interesting occasion, affords a convenient mode and pretext for curtailing the liberty of the subject ; or, if this do not succeed, then the coveted Naboth's vineyard may be obtained, for those who desire it, by the aid of the Jezebel of spurious statistics. All the teaching of the past and of the present proclaims that the governing power will never willingly and spontaneously enfranchise London. We dwell upon this point because we believe that if London is ever to be self-governed in the constitutional sense, if it is ever to take its place beside the City,

and Liverpool, and Edinburgh, and the other free towns of the Empire, it must be outspoken, and must act for itself.

There cannot be a doubt that London is the brain of the Empire. It is the very centre and focus of literature, thought and journalism; those who know London will admit also that, for activity, intelligence and every business quality, the Londoner is in advance of his provincial brethren. If Dr. Johnson could affirm in his day, "I will venture to say there is more learning and science within the circumference of ten miles from where we now sit than in all the rest of the Kingdom," what would be his testimony now that the population of that area has trebled, now that the penny post, cheap journalism, the steam press, and paper duty-free have revolutionized the kingdom of literature, over which he exercised so despotic and dogmatic a sway? And who shall dare to aver that the inhabitants of that area are now *incapable* of self-government, or *unworthy* of being intrusted with the powers exercised judiciously by their provincial brethren? The very suggestion savours of intolerable arrogance, and should stimulate freemen by inheritance to determine to become freemen *de facto*. But this—we repeat it emphatically—will never be volunteered by Government, it will never be obtained until it is extorted; nor will London extra find hearty co-operation rendered by more favoured districts, either in the City or in the provinces, until it shall demand *perfect equality* of rights with those districts; for be it noted, the surrender of one iota of constitutional freedom by the great Metropolis will be but the signal, the precedent and the excuse, for the withdrawal of the same share of freedom from others.

It may be assumed as an axiom in this respect, that to lower the standard, to abate any reasonable demand, will be

to court defeat and humiliation. It is not a special *favour* which is involved in the demand of Municipal organization, it is a *constitutional right*, which cannot and ought not to be withheld by any Government professing to rule, or Parliament professing to legislate, in the spirit of the Constitution.

The whole local government of the Metropolis outside the City's boundaries is an *usurpation of popular rights*. Government by Parochial Vestries, or by a Board of Works, or by a Prefect of Police, are unknown to, and unrecognized by, the constitution in reference to even a third-rate town in this country. The very existence and perpetuation of such a system amongst a population of 3,000,000—constituting as they do one-seventh of the people of England and Wales—is fraught with danger to our constitutional freedom, is enervating to the manly independence of Englishmen.

Some have selected illustrations of the existing disarray of the Metropolis by pointing to our never-finished public buildings, our national "cruet-stands," "pepper-boxes" and "boilers," our pig-tailed and legless statues, the defective state of our roads, the insufficiency of our water supply, the feeble flicker of our street lamps, the fustiness of our public conveyances, the gradual "annexation" of our open spaces, and the perils of our streets—all these subjects are important, doubtless, in every social and artistic point of view, and might and would be remedied by the establishment of efficient local organization. But, to our mind, there are more important and more serious aspects of the case than even these. We have, in London, the despotic government of Paris without its brilliancy—the same irresponsible head of the police without the urbanity to rich and poor which there tempers his despotism. If we visit Paris, Vienna, or Rome, we

expect espionage as naturally as we look for museums, but we shrink from it in London, and to be placed on the list of *suspects* while pursuing one's lawful calling, to be dogged by strangers, six feet high and of military aspect, reminds one that we have fallen upon degenerate days, and that English liberty is not what it was. We tremble for the freedom of the press—"The bulwark of our liberties," as the Whigs used to toast it at public dinners—when we hear of a police agent lifting a proof, as a *paid employé, in a London printing establishment*. We wonder whether he has read our lucubrations as they passed through the press, and if he has reported them at head-quarters, or whether he is still employed in instructing the Russian Government how to introduce the paternal Metropolitan system into Warsaw. We witness with apprehension the tunic and the helmet superseding the civil hat and dress of Sir Robert Peel, the attempts made from time to time—and only restrained by the voice of public opinion—to arm the Police with swords. We entertain an old-fashioned dislike to a Police Commissioner riding at the head of a Division of Police *Cavalry*, whether at Hyde Park or elsewhere. The old distinctions between the Magistrate and the Military officer—between the civil constable and the soldier—have been well nigh obliterated during the last thirty years. The thief-takers, or those who should be the thief-takers, are being rapidly transformed into a division of the Household Brigade. The infection, also, is spreading from the Metropolis to the Provinces, for we read with regret such paragraphs as the following, in many of the annual reports of the provincial towns :—

"Colonel W—, the Government Inspector of Constabulary for the Northern Division of England and Wales, inspected the Force on the 11th day; the men paraded at the Camp-field, E—, in *battalion order*, *re put through a variety of military movements!*"

Seeing and pondering these things, we wonder when the jealousy of Parliament will awake to take notice of a standing army of 25,000 well-drilled soldiers, entirely independent of its annual vote, not subjected to its Mutiny Act, and practically in the pay and under the control of the Home Secretary. We ask ourselves, also, what will be the end of a system which throws off, annually, *thousands* of men instructed in military drill, and composing the lowest strata of the several forces, to furnish Fenianism, or any kindred disaffection, with materials prepared for explosion, to the great peril of introducing another continental institution—the “barricade”—into our streets. Wrong doing is inevitably followed by inconvenience and suffering; and if the flagrant departures from constitutional principles involved by our recent police developments be not followed by social and political evil, *then all past history has been written in vain.*

But to the REMEDY for all this evil, which lapse of time has permitted to grow; which the City of London might in former ages have dealt with piecemeal, had it not been short-sighted and perhaps selfish; evil which no Government will now deal with except by palliatives, by sedatives, by cajolery, or by delay.

The remedies proposed have been more various than clearly defined. Some have suggested PARIS as our model; with an administration, practically a branch of the Imperial Government, with a Prefect and Mayors appointed by and amenable to the will of the Crown. The whole regulated and presided over by a high official of the HAUSSMAN type, to be intrusted with the responsibilities of demolishing and reconstructing, of feeding, protecting, amusing or oppressing the people, as the circumstances may

require; who will appoint the *octroi* upon food and articles of domestic consumption, regulate prices, head the police, determine the character of theatrical performances, watch over the correspondence of the people as it passes through the post-office, "regulate" vice,* and perform paternal duties of censorship for the press. This model of local government finds some advocates, as is very natural, in the vicinity of the Home Office and of Scotland Yard, and imitation at a respectful distance, combined with admiration of its full-blown official development on the Continent, are not wanting in certain quarters. The plant is externally attractive, but exotic; it could not survive here, even for a twelvemonth; our constitutional climate would disagree with it, and the inevitable up-rooting, which must succeed its planting, would destroy much that it is our wisdom to conserve. Freedom of the press and of speech, Trial by Jury, the independence of Parliament and the liberty of the subject, would be alike incompatible with a central despotism ruling from Whitehall.

Another model has been set before us—the constitution of "ADELAIDE in South Australia" is commended as precisely the thing to suit the metropolis of the British Empire. The author of this suggestion finds a city on the banks of the Thames, founded by the Romans before the Christian era, and furnished by that ingenious people with the germs of Municipal institutions—a city which wrung a chartered acknowledgment from the Norman conqueror, which has since withstood the wear and tear of 800 years, and is still

* The recognition of Prostitution and its "regulation" by the State in our garrison towns, has, since the publication of the First Edition of this work, been placed under the fostering care of the Metropolitan Police. Introducing thus another Continental institution, which has made Paris a sink of morality, and rendered freedom of the subject impossible in that City.

young, vigorous and prosperous ; transacting a commerce within its limits, exceeding that of any city, either in ancient or modern times, paying one half of the customs' duties of the kingdom, and employing more shipping than any other port ; seeking no change but such as the vast lapse of time and its own wondrous growth have rendered indispensable ; wanting only more room to trade, and greater facilities for its ever-increasing population and traffic ; without a sign of decay or decadence ; possessed of a proud history, inspiring traditions and associations intimately interwoven with the biography of the heroic, the great and the good in the past. He turns, however, from such a city and its experiences, which have outlived many a monarchy, and witnessed half a dozen dynasties ; and looking round the world for something stable, lasting and reliable, he lights at the antipodes upon the object of his search—seated amongst squatting aborigines and kangaroos—a city with a constitution which has actually weathered a *quarter of a century* ; this is held up as the model for local government of the British Metropolis, to put to shame the ignorance of the past, and to illustrate the profound wisdom of the *doctrinaire* of the nineteenth century.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER likewise has a project. He has written amusingly and cleverly, if not conclusively, on the subject.* He would institute Municipal government for the Metropolis on the old, well-tried and time-honoured fashion. He has a great respect for the institution of the "Lord Mayor." He believes in its utility, and thinks that the prestige of the title and of the office is indestructible. Yet when he comes to particulars, and enters upon the details of his

* "London Self-Governed." By Sir W. Fraser, Bart.

scheme, we discover, if we have clearly apprehended his meaning, that it is the name and title rather than the institution itself which he would conserve. Sir William would confer Municipal government, but the highest functions of administration he would devolve upon a "Chief Council," to be elected, not by the people, but by the Common Council, whilst the "Chief Council" in its turn would elect a Lord Mayor. The project appears to us to be a cross between the constitution of the Corporation of London and that of the Metropolitan Board of Works. It is neither corporate nor bureaucratic, but shares the inconveniences without the advantages of either system of administration. "'Tis neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring," picturesque in appearance, plausible in theory, but as it regards practical working, it would, we fear, make "confusion worse confounded."

We hope that we do no injustice to Sir William; but as full details are wanting, and he evidently anticipates the opposition of the City to his "Scheme," we entertain doubts respecting his intentions to bestow, by it, the powers usually enjoyed by Municipal Corporations. He says, "One obstacle suggested against a scheme of this kind is the probable opposition of the City; should this be insuperable I am for organizing LONDON outside the walls." When, let us inquire, did Sir William hear of opposition, on the part of the City, to local self-government, in any form consistent with the liberty of the subject? He may have heard of opposition to spoliation of cherished rights, but never of opposition to any proposal for enfranchising the people. The whole history of the City has been one struggle for their own rights and for those of others—from the period when they sheltered the sons of villains and refused to give them up to serfdom, if

they had tarried in the City for a year and a day,* down to the proud day when arbitrary power striking at the privileges of Parliament sought in vain for the "five members" who had found safe asylum in the City Sanctuary, on to the past century within which the City has taken the lead in demanding—*long before Parliament was prepared to grant them*—the publication of the proceedings in Parliament, the abolition of "general warrants," the freedom of the Slave, amelioration of the Criminal Code, repeal of Dissenters' disabilities, Catholic Emancipation, Civil liberty to the Jews and Parliamentary Reform. It augurs ill of Sir William's scheme that he anticipates the opposition of such a City.

The Corporation Inquiry Commissioners of 1854 have suggested their plan in the following words:—

"Although the City of London is the only part of the Metropolis which possesses a Municipal organization, there are at present within the Metropolitan District seven Parliamentary boroughs, each of which, with the exception of Greenwich, contains a large number of inhabited houses and a larger population than the City.

"Of those seven boroughs five received the right of returning members to Parliament under the Reform Act of 1832; and we concur in the opinion expressed by the Lord Mayor, in his evidence given before our Commission, that 'as the Legislature has already decided to enfranchise other portions of the Metropolis as Parliamentary boroughs, the Legislature ought to complete the work by enfranchising them for Municipal purposes also.' We think, indeed, that if an attempt were made to give a Municipal organization to the entire Metropolis, by a wider extension of the present boundaries of the City, the utility of the present Corporation as an institution suited to its present limited area would be destroyed;

* If the lord sought to recover his villain who had fled to the City, he sued out his writ *de nativo habendo*, but if a year and a day elapsed before the issue of the writ the City regarded him as a free-man, and returned answer to the writ, which was held good, "QUOD CIVIT' LOND' EST ANTIQU' CIVIT' ET CONSUETUDINEM HABET ET HABERET A TEMPORE QUO ETC' QUOD SI ALIQUIS SERVILIS CONDITIONIS MANSERIT IN CIVITATE PER UNUM ANNUM ET UNUM DIEM QUOD EX TUNC NON ERIT CAPT' VIRTUTE BREVIS DE NATIVO HABENDO."

while at the same time a Municipal administration of an excessive magnitude, and therefore ill adapted to the wants of the other parts of the Metropolis would be created. But we see no reason why the benefit of Municipal institutions should not be extended to the rest of the Metropolis by its division into Municipal districts, each possessing a Municipal government of its own. What the form of this government should be, and what should be the number or extent of the districts, are questions not lying within the scope of our Commission, and upon which we are not competent to express any opinion."—*Report*, p. xxxv.

That portion of their recommendation which involves the incorporation of the seven Metropolitan Parliamentary boroughs is plainly stated, but when details are approached, the Commission consider such questions as "not lying within the scope of their Commission." We are consequently left very much in the dark as to their views respecting the united action of London as a metropolis. Indeed, it does not appear that they were desirous of recommending more than a division of the Metropolis into eight sections, with a Board of Works "for the management of public works, in which the Metropolis has a common interest," whatever these terms may imply.

• The Commissioners impose a condition, however, "that the plans for the works to be executed should be submitted to a Committee of the Privy Council, and its consent obtained before they are carried into effect." Here we have again recommendations at variance with the practice which exists in our provincial Cities and Towns, and a determination manifested to reduce London in point of independence below the least considerable corporate towns of the provinces. The Commission, it will be observed, was composed of three of the adherents of the Whig Government, and to the peculiar want of confidence in the representative system which characterises that party, we must attribute the timidity which marks their recommendations. With what admirable caution they affirm, "We see no reason why the benefits of Municipal insti-

tutions should not be extended to the rest of the Metropolis by its division into Municipal Districts." Yet they recommend that when so provided, nothing should be left them to do but to appoint a Board of Works "of a very limited number of members;" but lest these very limited members should have too much influence, they are to design nothing and to execute nothing but what shall be approved by a Committee of the Privy Council. This plan resolves itself simply into a delegation of all the Municipal functions of the Metropolis to a Committee of the Privy Council, with the exception of the Police, which is to be specially handed over to the Metropolitan Police Commissioners. Is it surprising that although this Report was issued in 1854, no individual has been found, within the limits of the Metropolis, so demented as to ask Parliament to put its recommendations into operation? It is well known that the leading Commissioner,* soon after signing the Report, expressed his opinion to a deputation which waited upon him, to the effect that no action would be taken upon it, summing up his personal convictions in the few short but expressive words, "*It is wise to leave well alone.*" Perhaps he thought with Lord Bardolph—

"Much more in this great work
(Which is almost to pluck a kingdom down
And set another up), should we survey
The plot of situation and the model ;
Consent upon a sure foundation ;
Question surveyors ; know our own estate,
How able such a work to undergo,
To weigh against his opposite ; or else,
We fortify in paper, and in figures,

* Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Bart.

Using the names of men instead of men :
 Like one that draws the model of a house
 Beyond his power to build it : who half through,
 Gives o'er, and leaves his part-created cost
 A naked subject to the weeping clouds,
 And waste for churlish winter's tyranny."

And so much for the pretentious but insincere and inconclusive Report of the Royal Commissioners of 1854.

We now approach the consideration of the best digested and completest attempt at a solution of the Metropolitan problem which has as yet appeared—we allude to the Bill introduced into the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Local Government and Taxation, 1866—laid before the Committee by Mr. James Beal, a member of the St. James's Vestry, and which Mr. J. STUART MILL, M.P., had adopted and undertaken to introduce into Parliament. As that gentleman's name gives weight to anything which he undertakes, we propose to devote the greater portion of our remaining space to a consideration of the details of the Bill in question. It is entitled, "*An Act for the Establishment of Municipal Corporations within the Metropolis.*"

The Bill provides that ;—

1. The area of the Metropolis, as defined in the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855 (exclusive of the area of the City of London), be divided into *Ten* Municipal Boroughs. Cl. 2, Sch. A.
2. These Ten Municipal Boroughs are to be termed, respectively, Sch. A :—

1. The City of Westminster.
2. The Borough of Kensington.
3. " Marylebone.
4. " Bloomsbury.
5. " Finsbury.
6. " Hackney.
7. " Tower Hamlets.
8. " Lambeth.
9. " Southwark.
10. " Greenwich.

3. Each of these Boroughs, respectively, to be composed of Parishes and Districts, and divided into Wards, as follows :— Sch. A.

We have added, for full elucidation, the populations of the several Parishes, proposed Wards and Corporations, also the suggested numbers of Aldermen and Councillors for each Corporation.

| Proposed City and Boroughs. | Parishes to be included. | Population 1861. | Proposed Wards. | Councillors to Wards. | Councillors to Boroughs. | Aldermen to Wards. | Aldermen to Boroughs. | Councillors and Aldermen. |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| WESTMINSTER. | St. Ann, Soho | 17,426 | Soho..... | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | The Rolls | 2,274 | | | | | | |
| | St. Clement's Danes. | 15,592 | } Strand | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Mary-le-Strand... | 2,072 | | | | | | |
| | St. John, Savoy | 380 | | | | | | |
| | St. Paul's, Covent Garden | 5,154 | } St. Martin's | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Martin-in-the Fields | 22,689 | | | | | | |
| | St. James, Westminster..... | 35,326 | St. James | 6 | 54 | 2 | 18 | 72 |
| | St. George, Hanover Square..... | 87,771 | Grosvenor | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | | | Knightsbridge | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | | | Pimlico | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Margaret..... | 30,407 | St. Margaret (In.) ... | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | Close of St. Peter ... | 323 | St. Margaret (Out)... | 3 | | | | |
| | St. John | 37,483 | St. John | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | | 256,897 | Carried forward... | | 54 | | 18 | 72 |

| Proposed City and Boroughs. | Parishes to be included. | Population 1861. | Proposed Wards. | Councillors to Wards. | Councillors to Boroughs. | Aldermen to Wards. | Aldermen to Boroughs. | Councillors and Aldermen. |
|-----------------------------|--|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| KENSINGTON | Brought forward... | | Brought forward... | | 54 | | 18 | 72 |
| | Chelsea | 63,439 | { Sloane Street | 6 | 42 | { 12 12 12 12 12 12 | 14 | 56 |
| | Fulham | 15,539 | { Chelsea | 6 | | | | |
| | Hammersmith | 24,519 | { Fulham | 6 | | | | |
| | Kensington | 70,108 | { Hammersmith | 6 | | | | |
| | | 173,605 | { Brompton | 6 | | | | |
| MARYLEBONE | | | { Notting Hill | 6 | | | | |
| | Paddington | 75,784 | { Bayswater | 6 | 54 | { 12 12 12 12 12 12 | 18 | 72 |
| | | | { Paddington | 6 | | | | |
| | Marylebone | 161,680 | { Bryanstone | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Portman | 6 | | | | |
| | Hampstead | 19,106 | { Cavendish | 3 | | | | |
| BLOOMSBURY | | 256,570 | { Langham | 6 | | | | |
| | Saffron Hill | 7,148 | { Lisson Grove | 6 | | | | |
| | Hatton Garden | | { St. John's Wood | 6 | | | | |
| | Ely Rents | | { Hampstead | 6 | | | | |
| | Ely Place | | | | | | | |
| | St. Andrew, Holborn above Bars | 22,384 | { Holborn | 9 | | 3 | | |
| | St. George the Martyr | 9,867 | | | | | | |
| | St. Sepulchre (minus part in City of London) | 4,609 | | | | | | |
| | St. George, Bloomsbury | 17,392 | { Bloomsbury | 6 | 60 | 2 | 20 | 80 |
| | St. Giles | 36,684 | { St. Giles | 6 | | 2 | | |
| FINSBURY | | | { Gray's Inn Lane | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Pancras | 198,788 | { Tottenham Court Road | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | | 296,872 | { Somers Town | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Luke's | 57,073 | { Regent's Park | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | Clerkenwell | 65,681 | { Camden Town | 9 | | 2 | | |
| | Liberty of Glasshouse Yard | 1,455 | { Kentish Town | 6 | | | | |
| | Islington | 155,341 | { Finsbury | 6 | 54 | { 12 12 12 12 12 12 | 18 | 72 |
| | | | { St. Luke's | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Clerkenwell | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Pentonville | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Islington | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Barnsbury | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Canonbury | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Highbury | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Holloway | 2 | | | | |
| | | 279,550 | Carried forward... | | 264 | | 88 | 352 |

PROPOSED DIVISIONS FOR THE METROPOLIS.

181

| Proposed City and Boroughs. | Parishes to be included. | Population 1881. | Proposed Wards. | Councillors to Wards. | Councillors to Boroughs. | Aldermen to Wards. | Aldermen to Boroughs. | Councillors and Aldermen. | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| HACKNEY | Stoke Newington ... | 6,608 | Brought forward... { Stoke Newington ... | 6 | 264 | 60 | 88 | 352 | | | | |
| | Hackney | 76,687 | { Kingsland | 6 | | | | | | | | |
| | Shoreditch..... | 129,364 | { Hackney | 6 | | | | | | | | |
| | Bethnal Green | 105,101 | { Haggerstone | 6 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | { Hoxton | 6 | | | | | | | | |
| { Shoreditch..... | | | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | { Hackney Road | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | { Bethnal Green | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| | | { Victoria Park | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 317,760 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOWER HAMLETS | Old Artillery Ground | 2,168 | { Spitalfields..... | 6 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | Norton Folgate | 1,873 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Christ Church, Spital- fields | 20,593 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Mile End, New Town | 10,845 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Whitechapel | 37,454 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Holy Trinity, Minorities | 420 | { Whitechapel..... | 9 | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | St. Botolph, without | 4,000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Aldgate | 208 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | St. Catherine, by the Tower | 626 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Old Tower, without . | 783 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Tower of London ... | 48,891 | { St. George's-in-the- East | 9 | 3 | 22 | 88 | | | | | |
| | St. George's-in-the- East | 73,064 | { Mile End Old Town, W. | | | | | | | | | |
| | Mile End, Old Town. | | { Mile End Old Town, E. | | | | | | | | | |
| | St. John, Wapping ... | 4,038 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | St. Paul, Shadwell ... | 8,499 | { Shadwell | 6 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | Ratcliffe | 16,874 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Limehouse | 27,161 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | St. Mary, Stratford- le-Bow | 11,590 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | St. Leonard, Bromley | 24,077 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | All Saints, Poplar ... | 43,529 | { Poplar | 9 | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | | 336,693 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | LAMBETH | Putney | 6,481 | Putney | 3 | 54 | 18 | 72 | | | | |
| | | Wandsworth..... | 13,346 | Wandsworth..... | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | | Battersea | 19,600 | Battersea | 6 | | | | | | | |
| | | Clapham | 20,894 | Clapham | 6 | | | | | | | |
| | | Tooting | 2,055 | { Streatham | 3 | | | | | | | |
| Streatham | | 8,027 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lambeth..... | | 162,044 | { Waterloo | 9 | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | | | { Lambeth..... | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | { Kennington | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | { Brixton | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | { Norwood | | | | | | | | | |
| | 232,447 | Carried forward... | 444 | | 148 | 592 | | | | | | |

| Proposed City and Boroughs. | Parishes to be included. | Population 1881. | Proposed Wards. | Councillors to Wards. | Councillors to Boroughs. | Aldermen to Wards. | Aldermen to Boroughs. | Councillors and Aldermen. |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| SOUTHWARK | Brought forward... | | | 444 | | 148 | 592 | |
| | Christchurch | 17,069 | { St. Saviour | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Saviour | 19,101 | { St. Olave | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | St. Olave | 6,197 | { Borough | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | St. Thomas | 1,466 | { Kent Road | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | St. John, Horselydown | 11,393 | { Newington | 9 | 72 | 24 | 96 | |
| | St. George, South- wark | 55,510 | { Walworth | 9 | | | | |
| | Newington | 82,220 | { St. Mary, Bermondsey | 6 | | | | |
| | Bermondsey | 58,355 | { St. James, Bermondsey | 6 | | | | |
| | St. Mary, Rotherhithe | 24,502 | { Rotherhithe | 6 | | | | |
| GREENWICH | Camberwell | 71,488 | { St. George, Camber- well | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { Peckham | 6 | | | | |
| | | | { St. Giles, Camberwell | 6 | | | | |
| | | 347,301 | | | | | | |
| | St. Paul, Deptford ... | 37,834 | { Deptford | 9 | | 3 | | |
| | St. Nicholas, Deptford | 8,139 | { Greenwich | 9 | | 3 | | |
| | Greenwich | 40,002 | { Woolwich | 9 | | 3 | | |
| | Woolwich | 41,685 | { Plumstead | 6 | 48 | 16 | 64 | |
| | Plumstead | 24,502 | { Charlton | 6 | | 2 | | |
| | Charlton | 8,472 | { Lewisham | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | Lee | 6,162 | { Sydenham | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | Kidbrook | 804 | { Eltham | 3 | | 1 | | |
| | Lewisham* | 12,213 | | | | | | |
| | Sydenham Chapelry . | 10,585 | | | | | | |
| | Eltham | 3,009 | | | | | | |
| | | 193,427 | | 564 | | 188 | 752 | |

CLAUSES

4. Of the Boroughs to be incorporated, the City of Westminster to have its Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens; the others their Mayors, Aldermen and Burgesses.

5 & 6

5. After the first Election each Borough to be a *Corporation*, with perpetual succession, and a common seal, and to exercise all the

* Penge omitted, with 5,015 population.

CLAUSES

powers and authorities which Municipal Corporations or their Councils may legally have or exercise.

7 & 8

6. At the first election of Councillors, etc., all persons then qualified to vote for Vestrymen are to have the right of election.

11 & 13

7. At all subsequent elections the provisions of the Municipal Corporations' Act to be observed.

14

8. Each Borough to have separate Quarter Sessions, and Queen to appoint Justices of the Peace.

15 & 16

9. Justices of the Peace to have all the powers, etc., of Justices in a City or Town Corporate with respect to licences, etc.

16

10. Each Corporate Borough to have a Stipendiary Magistracy.

17

11. Present Metropolitan Police Courts and Offices to be Police Courts and Offices of the new Boroughs.

18

12. A new Police Court to be established for the Borough of Bloomsbury.

19

13. Borough Police Courts to be Metropolitan Police Courts.

21

14. Appeals from the Police Courts to the Borough Recorder, if any, or if not, then to the Central Criminal Court.

22

15. The Corporation may, in their discretion, appoint a Watch Committee, upon whom it shall not be imperative that they appoint Constables for the Borough ; but no Watch-rate shall be levied, if a Watch Committee and Constables be not appointed. 24
16. Her Majesty may appoint a Recorder to each Borough, fixing his salary ; but the Council of the Borough may increase such salary. 25
17. Recorder to have jurisdiction of Borough Justices as Court of Judicature. 26
18. Borough Rates may be made for any purposes authorized by the Act. 27
19. The expense of the Act and of the incorporation of the Boroughs to be paid out of the Borough-rate. 28
20. Town Halls and proper offices may be provided. 29
21. Charitable funds may be transferred to Councils of Boroughs. 30
22. Powers under "Metropolis Local Management Acts" to vest in the Boroughs. 31
23. The *total* number of Members of the Metropolitan Board of Works to remain as it now is (45) ; but the numbers to be respectively elected by the Borough Councils to be (43) as set forth in Schedule D. 32

| PARTICULARS OF CLAUSES. | CLAUSES | 185 |
|--|---------|-----|
| 24. Existing Contracts to remain valid. | 36 | |
| 25. Existing Debts and Liabilities to be discharged by the Council from the Borough-rate. | 38 | |
| 26. Compensation to be made where Offices are abolished, or Officers removed. | 41 | |
| 27. The Act not to affect the City of London, or the powers, privileges, or jurisdiction of any of its Officers. | 44 | |
| 28. The Act not to abridge the powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works, except as provided. | 45 | |
| 29. Inns of Court not to be affected by the Act, except by the transfer of the powers of Vestries to the Councils of the respective Boroughs. | 46 | |
| 30. Boundaries and Electoral Franchise of Parliamentary Boroughs to be maintained. | 47 | |
| 31. Acts inconsistent with this Act to be repealed. | 48 | |
| 32. Section 248 of the "Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855," only to apply to any of the Boroughs on the petition of the Council of any such Borough. | 49 | |
| 33. Difference between Councils of different Boroughs to be settled by Arbitration. | 50 | |
| 34. The Queen may extend the Provisions of | | |

this Act to any Parishes adjoining the Metropolis possessing the requisite population, upon petition of a certain number of inhabitant householders.

51

It will be observed that it is proposed by the above Bill to create *ten* new Municipalities, including the City of Westminster. To these ten Corporations are to be extended generally the powers exercised by Provincial Corporations under the Municipal Corporations' Act for England and Wales.

The boundaries of the several Districts to be incorporated inclose, it will be seen, areas with populations ranging from 347,301 to 173,605 inhabitants.

There is nothing in the principle of the incorporation of these Districts, or on the ground of their size, populations or rateable values, to which objection can be taken. Large enough for all the purposes for which Municipal institutions exist, but not so utterly unwieldy as a Corporation or Board for the whole Metropolis would be found to be. The Bill, therefore, keeps clear of the difficulty judiciously pointed out by the Commissioners of 1854 (see page 135), in relation to one administration for the local purposes of the whole Metropolis.

Upon the whole the Bill may be regarded as the first attempt to deal comprehensively with the subject ; it is drawn perspicuously and intelligently, and had it proceeded a few steps further to provide for the solution of the *great unsolved problem*, the few objections which occur as to its details might have been easily removed. The great difficulty which presents elf to the mind of every inquirer, is not how local action

shall be obtained in the several Districts, be they large or small, be they few or many; *the* real difficulty—which does not appear to have been grappled with, as yet, in a comprehensive and statesmanlike spirit—is, *how shall efficient UNITED action be secured?* It has been avoided as *the* difficulty when it ought to have been mastered; shirked by those who were appointed or expected to solve it—unless indeed a solution was dreaded and so not desired.

It is just at this point that Mr. MILL's Bill stops short; all is clear as far as it goes, but all is darkness beyond. It is probably intended that a Supplemental Bill shall supply what is deficient, but the public will naturally suspend judgment until they see the whole. Any one, provided with a pair of scissors, can cut up the map of London into two, four, seven, or ten portions, but the test of statesmanship will be—who shall provide for and *secure the harmonious and efficient co-operation of the whole?*

The grand defect of the Bill is the omission of any cementing power or appliance for the whole Metropolis; the great blot of the proposed measure is the attempt to retain the Metropolitan Board of Works in its existing anomalous position with reference to London. That Board is not to be affected by the Bill as to its numbers or constitution; it is to remain constituted, therefore, of forty-five representatives (exclusive of the chairman, who sits *ex officio*). But Schedule D of the Bill gives 43 members of that Board to the new Municipalities; leaving the City but *two* representatives in place of *three*, as at present, or of *five*, which, we have shewn in the last chapter, is the lowest number to which it is entitled on the grounds of population and rateability. But assuming that this is an oversight, and that being pointed out, it sho''

be remedied, the question still remains—HOW CAN A BOARD OF WORKS, HOWEVER FAIRLY CONSTITUTED, FORM A BOND OF UNION FOR MUNICIPAL LONDON?

There must arise occasions, and that constantly, when London will be expected to speak *in the name of London*; unless our legislators intend the first City of the world to remain dumb in the future. There must arise occasions, and that constantly, when London will be expected to receive, to compliment, perhaps to entertain, some distinguished personage, foreign potentate, or exalted individual whom London may delight to honour. There must arise occasions, and that constantly, when London will desire to express its congratulations on some auspicious occasions; to celebrate some great event, social or political, or to confer a mark of distinction upon some philanthropist, or heroic commander returning home victorious, some benefactor, scientific or otherwise, of his species, some statesman who shall deserve well of his country. Is London, under all such circumstances, to be silent and passive? Is the Capital of the British Empire to be the only place in that Empire in which the nation cannot speak through its local representatives? Or will it be convenient or becoming, (assuming that all London shall be incorporated,) that a portion shall speak and act in the name of the whole. Either alternative is impossible. If Parliament shall add *ten* Municipalities to that *one* which exists, and no bond of Union be discovered or provided, then London must (assuming that unanimity exists) utter eleven voices, or tender eleven congratulatory addresses, or offer eleven receptions, or provide eleven entertainments; but what becomes of the voice of the Metropolis of England—unless it is intended that an aggregate meeting be held in Hyde Park? What will

be the feelings or the perplexity of the unfortunate individual who shall have to make choice under such circumstances, or to run the gauntlet of all this Municipal kindness? Or assuming want of unanimity, what then? Again, is it not likely that occasions will arise when a Board of Works, however fairly constituted, will not be able to supply what aggregate London will need—a Chamber of Commerce, for instance—which must arise out of the organization of the Metropolis, even if it be not constituted at an earlier date? The City will be chiefly, but not by any means exclusively, interested in the questions constantly awaiting solution in such a Chamber.

Again, is it likely that the newly constituted Municipalities will surrender all control over their Police; and that none of them will claim to exercise the option offered in the Bill in reference to the most important right of self-government? Is it at all probable that they will consent to occupy a position inferior to the City and to the Provincial Municipalities? And is there any one who dreams that either of these will surrender, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, what they have held and most beneficially exercised in all time past? Where then is the solution of this and of the other difficulties suggested? It is to be found only in a representative Corporation, which should be, for all purposes not strictly local, a **FEDERATED CORPORATION**. Under such a Municipality, a united Police ruled from the centre, with all proper checks which our limited constitution knows how to supply—a Police which should be *one* for purposes of co-operation and efficiency, but fairly divisible amidst all parts of the Metropolis (which it is not at present) for the prevention of crime and for the protection of person and property, would be practicable. In such a Police the

Sovereign would possess a power of appointment or veto, but over it the representatives of the people would exercise a watchful control—as in our provincial towns ; so that abuses should be kept in check, responsibility secured, and petty tyranny become impossible.

Such a Corporation should be in a position to provide the requisite accommodation for aggregate action, public receptions, festivity, and so forth ; such a Corporation should be possessed of the prestige and weight which name, locality, antecedents and traditions can alone supply ; such a Corporation should have acquired administrative capacity by long years of experience and practice ; such a Corporation should be able to afford proof that it had been prominent beyond all other bodies, in reference to Metropolitan improvements in the past ; such a Corporation should be representative of the whole, in other words, of AGGREGATE LONDON ; such a Corporation should embrace within its jurisdiction the largest amount of population, rateable value, commercial and trading importance, and a preponderating share of wealth. All these elements combined in one Corporation would mark it as entitled to take rank, not *above* the others, but as *primus inter pares* ; the position would be accorded to it naturally, as of right of precedence ; such a Corporation—whilst others possessed their Mayors—should be presided over by its Lord Mayor, who would enjoy the rank and dignity conferred by law—taking precedence, within his jurisdiction, of every subject in the realm ; such a Corporation should be privileged, on all occasions of public importance, to go to the foot of the Throne ; such a Corporation, in short, would be the CORPORATION OF THE CITY, reinforced by the representatives of the Metropolis, so as to possess all necessary powers, privilege and

dignity, and to become, for all purposes of aggregate action, the *crème de la crème* of Municipal representation.

The greater portion of the difficulties which have been suggested in relation to efficient Municipal action in the Metropolis would vanish before such an arrangement. Men of sufficient social position, standing and acquirements would come forward, seeing within their reach the rewards of public service. Some would be induced to seek the office of Councillor in the local Municipality, some the higher dignity of Alderman ; whilst the latter office, leading directly as it should, to the dignity of Mayor of a local Corporation, would place before the occupier of that position the possible attainment of the highest Municipal post in the Metropolis. Such a Corporation would draw to it many members of the Imperial Legislature ; it has been ascertained that there are no less than *sixty-eight* Members of Parliament who occupy offices within the CITY ; of these a certain proportion would inevitably be attracted to take part in such a Municipality, and thus afford ample opportunity for the exposition of local administrative affairs in the House of Commons. We purposely abstain from details in this place. It is principles for which we are contending, and those principles founded on the ancient and long tested institutions of the City of London adapted to their new, enlarged and altered circumstances.

We speak not in the name of the Corporation of that City ; nor do we know what they may think of suggestions for which we are alone responsible ; but we know enough of the public spirit which animates the members of that body to feel assured that they would rise to the occasion, and take their proper position—the front, where some one must lead. To

be absorbed into a Board elected by the Vestries, to remain standing aloof if London-extra be incorporated, to submit, after centuries of independence, to the control of a Board at Whitehall, would be to them impossible, and, if possible, intolerable. They would, we believe, march with the times, adapt themselves to their new position, accept their fresh responsibilities, and maintain proudly, and perpetuate, so far as in them might lie, the fair fame, the freedom and the dignity of their ancient City.

APPENDICES.

I.

REPORT TO COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL IN 1842, ON
THE EMBANKMENT OF THE THAMES, ADOPTED
BY THAT COURT.

20th January, 1842.

*"To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons
of the City of LONDON, in Common Council assembled:—*

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, of your Committee for
"improving the Navigation of the River *Thames*, and for preventing
"encroachments on the said River, do certify that serious complaints have
"at different times been made to your Committee of various projections
"in the River *Thames*, occasioning obstruction to the navigation, and
"creating on the adjacent shores deposits of mud and silt, charged with
"the contents of sewers, and with refuse animal and vegetable substances,
"equally offensive to the sight and dangerous to public health. These
"projections, it appears, have been erected not only without the sanction
"of your Committee, but, in some instances, in avowed defiance of their
"authority.

"In order to place the Conservators of the River in a position to
"execute their authority with becoming effect, it was recommended by
"counsel that they should immediately cause a Survey to be made of the
"banks and bed of the River, within the limits of their jurisdiction,
"and that a line should be laid down, beyond which all present and future
"encroachments upon the banks should be removed, by whatever authority

“and under whatever circumstances made, and regardless to whom they might belong; and in order that the Corporation might be placed upon the highest possible ground in the course they were about to adopt, counsel recommended that Engineers, of high character and standing in their profession, should be employed to act with the officers of the Committee in carrying into execution the proposed survey, and report.

“Your Committee strongly impressed with the wisdom and importance of the advice they had received, directed application to be made to *Mr. Walker*, the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers (a gentleman at the head of his profession, and upwards of thirty years engaged in engineering works upon the banks of the *Thames*), to afford his valuable aid in the proposed Survey; and they also made a similar application to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, for the assistance of *Captain Bullock*, R.N., one of the Hydrographers of that Board, a gentleman who to the high reputation he enjoyed in his profession added an intimate acquaintance with all parts of the *Thames*.

“Your Committee are happy to say that they were successful in both applications, and those gentlemen have made a thorough inspection of the River *Thames* through the whole extent of the City’s jurisdiction; they have likewise, laid down upon plans prepared for that purpose, lines on each bank, and have accompanied the same with elaborate reports upon the state and condition of the River, its existing defects and their proposed remedies.”—[Report then states approval of Committee of the suggested plans, and proceeds.]—“Your Committee are of opinion that if facilities be afforded, as suggested, a considerable portion, and that by far the most important portion, of the contemplated improvement, *lying within the Metropolitan District*, may be expected to be carried into execution at no great distance of time, from the conviction which to some extent at present exists, and which is daily increasing, that a regular line of EMBANKMENT would not only materially improve the River as a navigable stream, but would augment the advantages, etc., which private proprietors would enjoy. By this means also, ORNAMENTAL EMBANKMENTS in connection with public buildings and private properties may be advantageously effected.”

[Report then proceeds to refer to the maps and plans of the proposed

Embankment, which accompanied it] and it recommends that they should proceed—"to remove the nuisances complained of, as offensive to the sight "and injurious to health, and to put the river in the best condition to afford "every practicable facility for its free navigation—whether for the purposes "of commerce, recreation, or health."

Signed,

HENRY BURN.
DAVID ALLAN.
JAMES LAKE.
JAMES WHITE.
WM. KIPLING.
THOS. MITCHELL.
JOHN LOCKE.
THOMAS Q. FINNIS.
BENJ. ED. BROWN.
WM. CROUCHER.

RICHD. TAYLOR.
CHAPN. MARSHALL.
HENRY PATTEN.
W. A. PEACOCK.
RICHD. HICKS.
JAMES FRISBY.
SAML. UNWIN.
THOS. WATKINS.
JAS. BALDWIN.
GEO. WRIGHT.

APPENDIX II.

APPENDIX TO LETTER OF SIR R. MAYNE, 1863.

I.—AREA.

WITH respect thereto :—

The City Police has charge over 725 acres,
The Metropolitan Police over 439,744 acres.

The district of the first-named Force is of course entirely urban ; that of the second is urban, suburban and rural. The urban and suburban portions contain 77,272 acres, and the rural, which is contained within a belt of varying breadth circumscribing the whole Metropolis, has an area of 362,472 acres. This rural district is much larger than the entire county of Bedford.

The proportionate areas, taking that of the City Police as unity, is—

| | |
|--|-----|
| For the City Police | I |
| „ <i>the Metropolitan Police</i> | 606 |

2.—POPULATION.

The City Police has to protect... 112,063 persons,
The Metropolitan Police 3,110,654 „

The population protected by the latter Force consists of 2,691,926 persons in the urban and suburban districts, and 418,728 in the rural.

The population of the rural district is greater than that of the whole of Lincolnshire.

| | |
|--|----|
| The proportionate population under the City Police | I |
| „ „ „ <i>Metropolitan Police</i> | 28 |

3.—HOUSES, INHABITED AND UNINHABITED.

The City Police has to watch..... 14,794 houses,
The Metropolitan 461,845 „

| | |
|---|----|
| The proportionate number of houses under the City Police..... | I |
| „ „ „ <i>Metropolitan Police</i> | 31 |

3.—AMOUNT OF THE FORCES.

The City Police contains 608 men,

The Metropolitan..... 6,116 „

Hence the ratio of Force to area is—

In the City Police..... 1 man to $1\frac{2}{10}$ acres,

In the Metropolitan Police ... 1 „ 72 „

The latter area per man is sixty times greater than the former.

The ratio of Force to population is—

In the City Police..... 1 man to 184 persons,

In the Metropolitan Police ... 1 „ 508 „

A Metropolitan Policeman has nearly *three times* as many persons to look after as a City Officer.

The ratio of Force to houses is—

In the City Police..... 1 man to 24 houses,

In the Metropolitan Police ... 1 „ 77 „

A Metropolitan Policeman has more than *thrice* the number of houses to guard, compared with the same duty of a City Policeman.

4.—THE COST OF THE FORCES.

The yearly expense of the City Police is..... £48,172

„ „ Metropolitan Police ... 400,389

Having effected in respect of the two items parity of charge by striking off from the latter several sums for special objects, *not carried to the Police Account* in the City Statement.

The annual cost of each Policeman in the City Police is ... £79 4 7

„ „ „ Metropolitan Police 65 9 3

Therefore the cost of each man in the City Police is £13 15s. 4d., or 21 per cent. *higher* than for the Metropolitan Officer.

The annual cost regarded as a poll-tax upon the inhabitants of each district is—

In reference to the City Police £0 8 4 per head,

„ „ Metropolitan Police 0 2 10 „

As a tax, measured by the standard of population, it is 194 per cent. *higher* in the City than in the Metropolitan District.

5.—CRIMES, APPREHENSIONS AND COMMITTALS.

The number of crimes committed in one year is—

In the City Police District 1,029

In the Metropolitan Police District 11,203

The proportion of crimes to population is—

In the City Police District..... 1 crime to 108 persons,

In the Metropolitan Police District 1 „ 277 „

In this relation crimes in the City are upwards of 156 per cent. *higher* than in the Metropolitan District.

The proportion of crimes to inhabited houses is—

In the City Police District 1 crime to 12 houses,

In the Metropolitan Police District ... 1 „ 37 „

In this relation crimes in the City are upwards of 208 per cent. *higher* than in the Metropolitan District.

The ratio of apprehensions to number of crimes committed is—

In the City Police District..... 10 apprehensions to 15 crimes,

In the Metropolitan Police District 10 „ 28 „

But since, as it will be observed presently, *half* the number of persons apprehended by the City Police were discharged by the Magistrates, it is necessary to compare the number of *efficient* apprehensions, *i.e.*, apprehensions which have resulted in bringing the offenders to trial, with the amount of crime in each district. This ratio was—

In the City Police District..... 10 efficient apprehensions to 32 crimes,

In the Metropolitan Police District 10 „ „ 37 „

The proportion of prisoners discharged by Magistrates in respect of those apprehended by—

The City Police is 1 in 2

The Metropolitan Police is 1 in 4

If the whole value of a Police were to be measured by the number of Magisterial committals in comparison with Police apprehensions, it would appear plain from these figures that the *waste of force* by the City Police is double that which is experienced by the Metropolitan body.

The Metropolitan Police are concerned with a much graver class of crimes, or they get up their evidence more completely (?). Of suspected and accused persons apprehended by—

The City Police..... *less than one-half* are committed for trial,

The Metropolitan Police.. *fully three-fourths* „ „

The precise number of Criminals who were committed for trial in the year was—

In the City Police District 321

„ Metropolitan District 2,997

Computing the ratio of these figures to the respective population of each District, it is found that the graver crimes (?)—

• In the City Police District are as..... 3

„ Metropolitan Police District are as 1

TABLE A (To Sir R. MAYNE'S LETTER).

The following Items of Expense should be excluded in estimating the cost per Man of the Metropolitan Police Force, viz. :

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|---------|----|----|
| Medical attendance and medicines, etc., for destitute prisoners | 1,099 | 17 | 0 |
| Horses, forage, saddlery, etc., and vans..... | 8,491 | 15 | 6 |
| Erection and purchase of premises | 15,179 | 2 | 2 |
| Refreshments for destitute prisoners and other small contingencies | 1,323 | 19 | 10 |
| Extraordinary expenses incurred in the pursuit, apprehension and conveyance of prisoners ... | 3,415 | 5 | 0 |
| Expenses and allowances on special occasions and on duties out of the district, £1,930 7s. 11d., of which £1,124 8s. 2d. was repaid to the Police Fund by the parties employing the Police | 805 | 19 | 9 |
| Retired allowances to Bow Street Patrol, etc., are paid by the Treasury..... | — | — | — |
| Retired allowances to Officers of Commissioners' and Receivers' Departments, also paid by the Treasury | — | — | — |
| Police expenditure on account of Her Majesty's Yards | — | — | — |
| Ditto Military Stations | — | — | — |
| Ditto Dangerous Structures Act | — | — | — |
| Deficiency of Police Superannuation Fund..... | 42,242 | 2 | 10 |
| | £72,558 | 2 | 1 |

(Signed) T. H. GOLDEN.

*Metropolitan Police Office,
April 25, 1863*

TABLE B (To Sir R. MAYNE'S LETTER).

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

A STATEMENT of the cost of the Metropolitan Police Force, including all those items of Expenditure which have a direct bearing and reference to the charge proper for Police purposes for the year 1861.

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|----------|----|----|
| Office Expenses, including Salaries of Commissioners' and Receivers' Departments, Rent, Taxes, Fuel and Light, Books, Printing and Stationery, Postage, Travelling Expenses, Newspapers and Advertisements, and small Office contingencies.. | | | £ | s. | d. |
| | | | 12,522 | 8 | 11 |
| Law Charges | | | 590 | 9 | 5 |
| Superintendents' salaries | | | 4,344 | 19 | 3 |
| * Pay, clothing, and equipment of the Force | | | 357,156 | 4 | 1 |
| Medical salaries and funeral expenses..... | | | 2,188 | 6 | 8 |
| Repair of premises, rent of premises, rates and taxes, furniture and fixtures, cleaning stations, turners' wares, and other small charges incidental to premises | | | 10,162 | 9 | 10 |
| (N.B.—The amount charged for rent is the actual sum paid after deducting £5,908 11s. 1d., the receipts from the police for lodging money.) | | | | | |
| Fuel and light | | | 13,215 | 5 | 2 |
| Boats and station ships..... | | | 279 | 5 | 11 |
| | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | £400,380 | 2 | 3 |

Average cost per man £65 9s. 3d.

* Strength of Force (exclusive of Dockyards and Military Stations) on the 31st December, 6,116.

* This is the amount of the gross pay, from which deductions are afterwards made for contributions to Superannuation Fund, Fines, Stoppages when Sick, etc.

*Metropolitan Police Office,
April 25, 1863.*

TABLE C (To Sir R. MAYNE'S LETTER).

CITY POLICE.

A STATEMENT of the actual cost of the City Police, in which is included only those items of Expenditure set forth in the Police Account of the City Chamberlain, for the year 1861.

| | | | |
|---|---------|----|-------------|
| Salaries of Commissioper, Superintendent, | £ | s. | d. |
| Surgeon and other officers | 3,155 | 0 | 0 |
| Salaries of Inspectors and | | | |
| Constables..... | £37,215 | 15 | 9 |
| Transfer to Superannuation | | | |
| Fund of deductions from | | | |
| pay of men, fines, and | | | |
| stoppages when sick | 1,142 | 1 | 6 |
| | | | |
| | | | 38,357 17 3 |
| Clothing, hats, caps, stocks and accoutre- | | | |
| ments (boots included in pay as above | | | |
| shewn) | 2,686 | 2 | 0 |
| Lanterns | 387 | 10 | 0 |
| Expenses of Chief Office (exclusive of | | | |
| salaries which are shewn above), and seve- | | | |
| ral stations, including rent, taxes, repairs, | | | |
| furniture and bedding | 3,267 | 13 | 3 |
| Extra pay to police..... | 52 | 0 | 0 |
| Funeral expenses | 7 | 6 | 0 |
| Printing and stationery | 224 | 6 | 0 |
| * Law charges | 34 | 6 | 8 |
| | | | |
| | | | £48,172 2 0 |

The average cost per man is £79 4s. 7d. Excess of City
over Metropolitan, per man, £13 15s. 4d.

Strength of Force on the 31st December, 1861, 608.

Metropolitan Police Office,
April 25, 1863.

TABLE D (To Sir R. MAYNE'S LETTER).

A Comparative Statement shewing the Amount Paid for the Maintenance of the Metropolitan and City Police Forces in the Year 1861: the average Charge for each Person and to each House in the two Districts, and also the Excess of Charge to each Person and House in the City Police District above that of the Metropolitan Police District.

| METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT. | | | CITY POLICE DISTRICT. | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|-------|-----------------------|---------|-------|
| Police Rate | £ | s. d. | Police Rate | £ | s. d. |
| Contributed by Treasury | 329,850 | 9 9 | at 6d. in the £1. | 34,868 | 13 0 |
| Contributed by Corporation | 109,800 | 3 3 | at 2d. in the £1. | 11,682 | 17 8 |
| | £439,800 | 13 0 | at 8d. in the £1. | £46,491 | 10 8 |

| Population in 1861. | | Amount of Rate at 6d. in the £1. | | Average Amount for each Person. | | Excess of the Average Amount for each Person in the City Police District above that in the Metropolitan Police District. | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. |
| Persons. 3,110,654 | 111,784 | £ 329,850 | s. d. 9 9 | £ 34,868 | s. d. 13 0 | £ 0 2 1½ | s. d. 0 6 3 |
| | | | | | | £ 439,800 | s. d. 13 0 |
| | | | | | | £ 46,491 | s. d. 10 8 |
| | | | | | | £ 0 4 1½ | s. d. 0 6 3 |
| | | | | | | £ 0 2 9½ | s. d. 0 8 4 |
| | | | | | | £ 0 5 6½ | s. d. 0 8 4 |

| Houses in 1861. | | Amount of Rate at 6d. in the £1. | | Average Amount for each House. | | Excess of the Average Amount for each House in the City Police District above that in the Metropolitan Police District. | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. |
| Inhabited 421,381 | Inhabited 13,218 | £ 329,850 | s. d. 9 9 | £ 34,868 | s. d. 13 0 | £ 0 15 7½ | s. d. 2 12 9 |
| Inhabited and Uninhabited 461,845 | Inhabited 14,794 | £ 329,850 | s. d. 9 9 | £ 34,868 | s. d. 13 0 | £ 0 14 3½ | s. d. 2 7 1 |
| | | | | | | £ 439,800 | s. d. 13 0 |
| | | | | | | £ 46,491 | s. d. 10 8 |
| | | | | | | £ 1 0 10½ | s. d. 3 10 4 |
| | | | | | | £ 2 9 5½ | s. d. 3 2 10 |

Metropolitan Police Office,
April 25, 1863.

TABLE F (To Sir R. MAYNE'S LETTER).

Extracts from "Judicial Statistics, 1861," presented to both Houses of Parliament pursuant to 19 and 20 Vict., cap. 69:—The Proportion of Crimes to Population and Inhabited House; the Percentage of Apprehensions to Crimes committed, etc., in the Metropolitan and City Police Districts.

| Total Number of Crimes Committed. ("Judicial Statistics," pp. 10 and 14.) | | Total Number of Persons Apprehended. ("Judicial Statistics," p. 10.) | | Proportion of Crimes to Population.* | | Proportion of Crimes to Inhabited Houses.† | | Percentage of Apprehensions to Number of Crimes Committed. | | Percentage of Prisoners Discharged by Magistrates | | Percentage of Prisoners Committed for Trial. | |
|---|-----------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. |
| 11,203 | 1,029 | 704 | 1 to 277, or 360 per cent. | 1 to 108, or 918 per cent. | 1 to 37, or 2·65 per cent. | 1 to 19, or 7·73 per cent. | 35·45 | 68·41 | 24·72 | 50·43 | 74·83 | 45·59 | |

E.

| Nature of certain Crimes. | Number of Crimes Committed. | | Number of Persons Apprehended. | | Proportion of Crimes to Population.* | | Proportion of Crimes to Inhabited Houses.† | | Percentage of Apprehensions to Number of Crimes Committed. | | Percentage of Prisoners Discharged by Magistrates. | | Percentage of Prisoners Committed for Trial. | |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. | Metropolitan Police District. | City Police District. |
| (Selected from "Judicial Statistics," p. 18.) | 1,368 | 304 | 474 | 88 | 1 to 2,973 or 34·4 per cent. | 1 to 368 or 271 per cent. | ... | ... | 34·64 | 28·90 | 4·23 | 36·36 | 95·78 | 63·63 |
| | 1,168 | 104 | 303 | 46 | ... | ... | 1 to 360, or 277 per cent. | 1 to 127 or 782 per cent. | 25·94 | 44·23 | 2·97 | 15·21 | 97·02 | 84·78 |
| Attempts to murder; shooting at, wounding, stabbing, etc., to do bodily harm; manslaughter; larceny from the person, burglary and housebreaking; breaking into shops, warehouses, etc.; larceny to the value of 25 in dwelling-houses; other felonies and misdemeanours.‡ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Population, from Census Tables 1861, p. 224:—
Metropolitan Police District 3,110,654
City Police District 112,063

† Inhabited Houses, from Census Tables 1861, p. 224:—
Metropolitan Police District 421,831
City Police District 13,236

‡ So stated in "Judicial Statistics."

Metropolitan Police Office,
April 25, 1863.

K III.

ES IN THE
OF LOND
YEARS 18

AL STATISTICS.

860.

186

| CITY. | M. P. D. |
|-------|----------|
| 1 | 10 |
| 4 | 69 |
| 5 | 100 |
| 10 | 112 |
| 30 | 391 |
| 0 | 29 |
| 1 | 48 |
| 594 | 8,651 |
| 75 | 401 |
| 24 | 187 |
| 95 | 1,143 |
| 0 | 23 |
| 0 | 16 |
| 0 | 6 |
| 34 | 1 |
| 20 | 16 |

EXCESS OF *India*
eight year
ANNUAL EXCES



MARILY, F LONDON.

| 1863. | | 1864. | | 1865. | | Eight Years' Totals in detail. | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| P. D. | CITY. | M. P. D. | CITY. | M. P. D. | CITY. | M. P. D. | CITY. |
| 1,834 | 858 | 19,914 | 1,032 | 20,813 | 1,153 | 144,788 | 6,729 |
| 348 | 14 | 287 | 12 | 332 | 8 | 2,320 | 108 |
| 330 | 190 | 367 | 136 | 382 | 82 | 2,270 | 1,576 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 |
| 729 | 124 | 618 | 100 | 555 | 291 | 5,304 | 673 |
| 3,789 | 309 | 18,582 | 358 | 20,684 | 420 | 155,583 | 2,826 |
| ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | 7 | ... |
| ... | ... | 13 | ... | ... | ... | 13 | ... |
| 78 | ... | 100 | ... | 132 | 12 | 823 | 18 |
| 1,149 | 28 | 1,027 | 19 | 955 | 24 | 8,121 | 223 |
| 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 | 14 |
| 683 | 41 | 458 | 43 | 518 | 126 | 2,762 | 383 |
| 2,780 | 116 | 3,094 | 119 | 3,145 | 98 | 22,045 | 752 |
| 653 | 35 | 596 | 14 | 555 | 22 | 6,879 | 256 |
| 262 | 6 | 311 | 6 | 324 | 18 | 2,696 | 57 |
| 705 | 28 | 579 | 37 | 565 | 44 | 5,710 | 159 |
| 262 | 28 | 390 | 24 | 361 | 23 | 2,295 | 166 |
| 1,234 | 2,696 | 11,647 | 3,306 | 13,188 | 2,940 | 102,966 | 18,005 |
| 1,341 | 51 | 1,621 | 85 | 2,220 | 46 | 11,029 | 398 |
| ... | ... | 33 | ... | 36 | 2 | 69 | 2 |
| 215 | 31 | 144 | 19 | 196 | 10 | 2,038 | 173 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | ... |
| 388 | 34 | 400 | 37 | 382 | 41 | 3,633 | 263 |
| 1,507 | 121 | 10,986 | 116 | 11,409 | 166 | 87,465 | 1,177 |
| 7,690 | 1,036 | 6,900 | 1,071 | 7,802 | 866 | 62,791 | 7,304 |
| 5,397 | 1,783 | 5,242 | 2,256 | 5,658 | 2,085 | 42,962 | 12,308 |
| 157 | 126 | 218 | 117 | 215 | 62 | 1,210 | 869 |
| 841 | 12 | 1,020 | 17 | 1,151 | 35 | 7,313 | 133 |
| and City Police Districts | | | | | | 686,109 | 54,575 |

Metropolitan Police District (1858-65) in excess of its proportionate number 94 419
 Metropolitan Police District 11,802



ULIS;

TO: ON THE 6TH DAY OF APRIL, 1877.

| GROSS VALUE. | | | | RATEABLE VALUE. | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|--|--|---|---|--|
| Total Gross Value of Parish or Union. | | | | Total Rateable Value of Parish or Union. | | | |
| £ s. d. | | | | £ s. d. | | | |
| 24,648,548 | 2 | 2 | | 20,317,929 | 8 | 0 | |
| 362,793 | 0 | 0 | | 291,645 | 0 | 0 | |
| 748,958 | 16 | 8 | | 623,328 | 0 | 0 | |
| 1,124,477 | 0 | 0 | | 907,861 | 0 | 0 | |
| 808,683 | 0 | 0 | | 674,869 | 0 | 0 | |
| 425,028 | 0 | 0 | | 349,416 | 0 | 0 | |
| 330,111 | 0 | 0 | | 258,175 | 0 | 0 | |
| £28,448,598 | 18 | 10 | | £23,423,223 | 8 | 0 | |

At Lincoln's Inn, who pay £1,000 annually for the purposes of the Poor only,—

PL

† CHARTERHOUSE.—The above note also applies to this

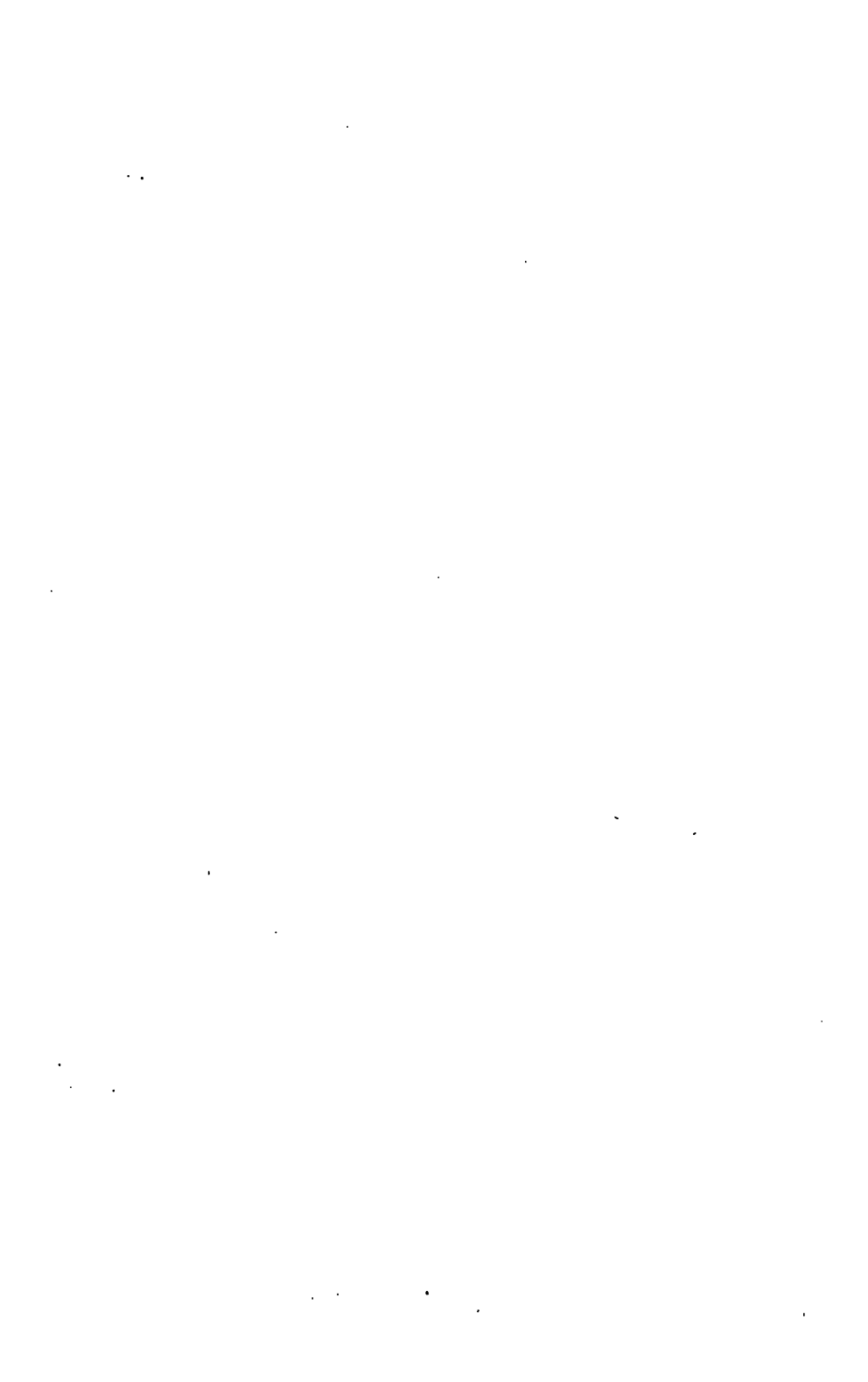
to the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District



ASSESSABLE VALUES, IN 1876-7 ;

Extracted from the sums required by that Board for the year 1877.

| Number. | THE CITY ; PARISHES ; DISTRICTS ; AND PARTS OF DITTO. | Rateable Annual Value of Property in the Metropolis. |
|---------|--|--|
| 1 | CITY OF LONDON Brought forward..... | £ 21,829,059 |
| 2 | ST. MARYLENE SAVIOUR'S DISTRICT— | |
| 3 | ST. PANCRAZ Christchurch | £80,112 |
| 4 | LAMBETH St. Saviour, including Liberty of | |
| 5 | ST. GEORGE'S Clink..... | 193,111 |
| 6 | ISLINGTON | 273,223 |
| 7 | SHOREDITCH LUMSTEAD DISTRICT— | |
| 8 | PADDINGTON Charlton next Woolwich | £47,323 |
| 9 | ST. MATTHEW Plumstead | 71,670 |
| 10 | ST. MARY, ELTHAM..... | 36,893 |
| 11 | CAMBERWELL Lee | 100,452 |
| 12 | ST. JAMES'S Kidbrooke | 18,995 |
| 13 | ST. JAMES'S | 275,333 |
| 14 | CHELSEA LEWISHAM DISTRICT— | |
| 15 | KENSINGTON Lewisham, including Sydenham | |
| 16 | ST. LUKE'S Chapelry | £314,730 |
| 17 | ST. GEORGE'S Hamlet of Penge | 152,220 |
| 18 | BERMONDSEY | 466,950 |
| 19 | ST. GEORGE'S | |
| 20 | ST. MARTIN'S OLAVE DISTRICT— | |
| 21 | HAMLET OF ST. Olave..... | £115,296 |
| 22 | WOOLWICH St. Thomas, Southwark | 13,441 |
| 23 | ROTHERHAM St. John, Horselydown..... | 82,060 |
| 24 | ST. JOHN'S | 210,797 |
| 25 | WHITECHURCH THE CHARTERHOUSE..... | 10,614 |
| | St. Margaret's INN | 14,658 |
| | Christchurch THE CLOSE OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH | |
| | St. Botolph OF ST. PETER | 2,012 |
| | Holy Trinity INNER TEMPLE | 19,963 |
| | Precinct MIDDLE TEMPLE..... | 10,917 |
| | Hamlet LINCOLN'S INN..... | 17,485 |
| | Liberty STAPLE INN | 2,563 |
| | Old Artillery TURNIVAL'S INN | 3,245 |
| | District | 23,136,819 |
| 26 | WESTMINSTER | |
| | St. Margaret's EXTRA METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS: | |
| | St. John's For assessment to the Main Drainage portion | |
| | of the Board's annual expenditure, in addition | |
| 27 | GREENWICH to charges for Main Drainage Debt. | |
| | St. Paul's Hornsey Local Board | 100,614 |
| | Hatfield South Hornsey Local Board | 60,369 |
| | St. Nicholas Bromley Guardians for the Beckenham | |
| | Greenwich Sewerage District | 21,058 |
| | | £23,318,860 |



OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

ON THE

FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

"This volume is devoted to a spirited exposure of the fallacies concerning the City of London, into which public writers have been betrayed by an inexact mode of handling those figures of the general Census which relate to its area. Mr. Scott is very severe upon the statisticians, who, however, should be much obliged to him for showing them so convincingly how much their methods of deduction require to be guided by experience. His work, besides being a recital of particular errors, is an elaborate vindication of the principles of self-government, and is enriched with facts of real value to those who wish to form a sound judgment on the questions which arise out of the administration of the interests of the great central community of the capital."—*Daily News*.

"Mr. Scott, in a very able book which he has just published upon this subject, shows that calculations based on the returns of the Registrar-General and the yearly 'Judicial Statistics,' are very far from trustworthy; we cannot see by what legitimate process of reasoning the corrections applied by Mr. Scott can be refused. Other corrections besides those just mentioned are found necessary, and some very curious inconsistencies are revealed. The battle rages over the whole field of figures, and a striking illustration is afforded of the necessity for caution in accepting statistical arguments. True statistics are of undoubted value; but strange, indeed, are the consequences of setting out on a calculation with wrong data."—*Standard*.

"The Chamberlain of the City of London is a statistician and something more. There is a fine energetic vigour in his style which we greatly admire. The way in which he deals with an adversary reminds one rather of a swift bowler at cricket, with an unerring eye for the middle stump. It must be confessed that Mr. Scott has proved his case completely on all points."—*Globe*.

"Mr. Scott's 'Statistical Vindication of the City of London' is a book upon which great industry and research, and no small amount of literary skill have been expended, with the best results. For insidious ends both the character and position of the ancient City, and the management of its corporate affairs, have been traduced in official documents and in public journals. Mr. Scott's evidence to the contrary is unanswerable; and the gravity of his admirably collated figures is relieved by the playful, and often caustic vein of satire in which he exposes mis-statements. The volume will well repay perusal; for though the subject is not of the liveliest kind, Mr. Scott is so much its master

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

that the main points of the argument are brought before us rapidly and brilliantly; opponents are tripped up with remarkable dialectic skill, and their blunders are exposed with much good-humoured sarcasm. So far as it goes it is, we must admit, a complete and crushing reply to the narrow objections of the advocates of centralization."—*Morning Star*.

"The Chamberlain of London may almost lay claim to one of the old Homeric appellations, for in one sense he is one of 'the most overwhelming of mankind.' We know of no other instance in which an elaborate statement, made by a veteran officer in the public service, has been so thoroughly demolished, torn to pieces, and scattered to the winds."—*Morning Advertiser*.

"Mr. Scott demonstrates that in respect to religious and educational advantages the City of London surpasses any other district of similar area, and he is able, without very much difficulty, completely to annihilate the position, 'that in proportion to population the ratio of crime in the City is in excess of other Metropolitan districts.' It is proved beyond a question that statements on this head are based in error. Mr. Scott, having disposed of the statistics upon which opposition and hostility to the City have been founded, proceeds to deal with the general question of municipal government."—*Athenæum*.

"Mr. Scott has rendered real service in exposing the fallacious character in many respects of the population returns."—*Spectator*.

"Mr. Scott sets forth materials for a very clear understanding of the relative wealth and importance of the old City of London. Mr. Scott shows that though the number of houses is slowly decreasing in London, the house-value is quickly rising. Twenty trumpery dwelling-houses, perhaps, are pulled down, to make room for one great warehouse or block of offices, in which several hundred busy merchants and their clerks are gathered every day, to conduct enterprises by which thousands of persons will be benefited. More Customs' Duties are paid in London than in all the other ports of the Kingdom put together, and the tonnage of its Shipping far exceeds that of any other single port, not excluding Liverpool. In a word, London is no longer a place of residence, but instead, it is growing mighty as a City of counting-houses and banks, warehouses and shops."—*Examiner*.

"Mr. Scott has furnished a very complete reply to the erroneous conclusions that have been drawn from the results of the last Census, with regard to the position and prospects of the City. The subject he has taken in hand would not at the outset appear to be a particularly attractive one, but Mr. Scott has treated it in such a manner that so far from being of that dry and uninteresting character which marks most works of its class, the volume he has put before us is not only readable but occasionally positively amusing, so that any one who may be inclined to set about making himself master of the facts and figures herein set forth, may enter upon the task without the slightest fear of finding himself bored or bewildered.—We cannot take leave of Mr. Scott without complimenting him very heartily on the excellent manner in which he has performed his self-imposed task. His arguments are clear and convincing, placing those whose fallacies he attacks in a most unenviable position. Coming

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

into the lists as champion of the City's fame and the City's rights, he has made himself master of the field, and certainly deserves the thanks of all who have the honour and the well-being of our ancient corporation at heart."—*City Press*.

"The object of this work is to refute what the writer considers to be the fallacious reasonings founded upon the figures of the Imperial census, and to set forth in its true light the relative importance of the City as compared with the rest of the Metropolis. In carrying out this object a mass of most interesting statistics is presented, with commentaries thereon, in order to negative the allegations which have been somewhat authoritatively made that in the City the population is 'year by year' decreasing; that the houses rapidly diminish in number; that inhabited houses greatly decrease; that, consequently, trade must be declining, and the City decaying. So far from the above being the case, the proofs herein given demonstrate that trade and commerce in the City now flourish beyond all former precedent, that street traffic, rents and rateable value all increase with unparalleled rapidity. Amongst the arguments used by those who would disparage the City as compared with the other Metropolitan districts, reference is constantly made to the amount of the City population as shown by the Imperial Census, in which notice is taken of those only who *sleep* in the City, instead of referring to those whose daily avocations are pursued therein. The information given in this volume, founded as it is upon most authentic data, is well worthy of the consideration of all who would truly estimate the importance of the City as compared with the remainder of the Metropolis."—*Observer*.

"Mr. Scott, in his admirable work, points out that whilst this scheme (Mr. Mill's Bill of 1866) is satisfactory as far as it goes, it does not touch *the* real difficulty—viz., how *shall* efficient united action be secured. Indeed, in the first draft of the measure it was proposed to retain the Metropolitan Board of Works with those anomalies of constitution which have been repeatedly pointed out to our readers. Mr. Scott puts the case eloquently and powerfully:—The more carefully this question is considered, the clearer becomes the conviction that the Metropolitan Board of Works can, by no conceivable modification of its organization, fulfil all the requirements of the case."—*Sunday Times*.

"Mr. Scott has taken up his pen, which in his hands is a very formidable weapon indeed, in defence of the Corporation, and a very good case he makes out. The Chamberlain, like a true and good knight, not only challenges all comers, but proceeds at once to show his genius for battle, by assailing every antagonist of the City."—*News of the World*.

"Mr. Scott's 'Statistical Vindication' is humorous as well as logical and accurate, which is rather refreshing in these days."—*Echoes from the Clubs*.

"The City has no more redoubtable champion than its own Chamberlain. He has at his command a great army of figures, and he handles them like a skilful general. It is true, as he says, that figures may be perverted to prove anything, but his figures are so exhaustive of the subject, that fallacy seems impossible. Mr. Scott attacks the representation of the Metropolitan Board of Works, complains of there being only forty-five members, and shows that the fiscal power of *one* member is greater than that of either of forty-seven pro-

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

vincial Corporations which he enumerates. The seventh and last chapter of this monument of industry and skill discusses the policy of establishing Metropolitan Municipalities."—*Parochial Critic*.

"Of the intrinsic importance and of the enormous wealth which the City represents no reasonable person can have a doubt; and Mr. Scott has abundantly established its right to pre-eminence in any arrangement which may be made hereafter for the better and uniform government of the whole Metropolitan district. The Corporation, reinvigorated and enlarged, will rightfully become the central governing body of the entire metropolis."—*English Independent*.

"Certainly the most readable book of the statistical family we have met with. Statistics, when correct, are of the highest value, and furnish a solid foundation for argument. Too often, however, they are either imperfectly collected or wrongly interpreted. Mr. Scott's book shows clearly that the most erroneous conclusions may be drawn from what, at first view, appears to be statistical truth."—*Weekly Record*.

"Surely no corporation in the country is so deserving of respect and preservation as the venerable Corporation of the City of London. We might have supposed that its munificence, its well-proved love of freedom, its boundless charity, and its loyalty and love for the crown, would have preserved this ancient and valuable institution, as we deem it to be, from unfair external attack. In this book Mr. Scott has dispelled a thousand fallacies in relation to its decadence. The City was never so great, and the Corporation never more worthy of respect and preservation. This book will possess a permanent value, for it sheds a flood of light upon the present condition of the metropolis, and will afford valuable materials to the future historian of the great country of which the City is the vital and throbbing centre. The volume is the product of extraordinary research and care, and we know of no one who could have produced it save the Chamberlain of London."—*The Independent*.

"Every science has had its empirics—men who, wanting an intelligent apprehension of the matter, have brought into disrepute whatever they have touched to the intense gratification of the sceptical few. And the science of statistics has had no small degree of odium thrown upon it by the ignorant application, or wilful misapplication of figures by those who have by this means sought to establish some foregone conclusion. The work before us is intended to show up this abuse of statistics, which seems to have been pretty freely indulged in as regards the City of London. Time and often 'authorities'—Government Commissioners, Home Secretaries, Registrars-General, Select Committees, Commissioners of Police, &c.—have come to the most opposite results in reference to the City as compared with the metropolis and with provincial cities and towns, and each and all have backed up their conclusions by figures derived from official sources. It is these that Mr. Scott, in the pages before us, sets himself to dispel. The individuals who have discovered from the last census the decadence of the City could not have seen where the bare figures would lead them to if they proceeded in their illusory investigations. It is curious to note, however, where they would have landed if they had extended their enquiries; Mr. Scott furnishes the clue."—*Insurance Record*.

